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A Tibetan Girl's Hair Changing Ritual

by

କୁମାରପାତ୍ର

Tshe dpal rdo rje

with

《詩經》

Rin chen rdo rje

Gerald Roche

and

Charles Kevin Stuart

Asian Highlands Perspectives



This is an incredibly careful study of a little known Tibetan coming-of-age ritual as still practiced in rural Amdo, Qinghai Province, China. Structural analysis is complemented by a case study based on observations, interviews, recordings, and authentic folklore material in the original language. Pictures, tables, and a glossary complete the work. This is field anthropology at its best. *Juha Janhunen, University of Helsinki*

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A Tibetan Girl's Hair Changing Ritual

ਤੰਦੁਲੁਤਾਨਾਵਿਸਾਣੀਨੁਹਕਾ

一个藏族姑娘的头饰礼仪

by

Tshe dpal rdo rje བྱ଎ དପାଲ ར୍ଦୋ ຮ୍ଜେ

with

Rin chen rdo rje ར୍ଦୀ ཚେ ར୍ଦୋ ຮ୍ଜେ, Gerald Roche, and CK Stuart

Asian Highlands Perspectives Volume 5

Front Cover: Photo by Tshe dpal rdo rje. Dpal mo mtsho wears an artificial fox fur hat and braids during her hair changing ritual. Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province, PR China.

Back Cover: Photo by Tshe dpal rdo rje. Dpal mo mtsho wears Tibetan robes and hair ornaments during her hair changing ritual. Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province, PR China.

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ACCLAIM

This is a remarkably careful study of a little known Tibetan coming-of-age ritual as still practiced in rural Amdo, Qinghai Province, China. Structural analysis is complemented by a case study based on observations, interviews, recordings, and authentic folklore material in the original language. Pictures, tables, and a glossary complete the work. This is field anthropology at its best. *Juha Janhunen, Professor of East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Helsinki*

The achievements of this book are many: it is analytically rigorous, rich in contextualized detail, and fascinating in subject matter. The authors' diverse backgrounds and strengths are manifested throughout this truly collaborative work which follows a major rite of passage in the life of a thirteen year-old Tibetan girl. For all scholars of Tibetan culture and society, and for any student of ethnography interested in learning how to thoroughly document a ritual, this book will be of great interest and lasting use. *Mark Turin Director, Digital Himalaya Project & World Oral Literature Project, University of Cambridge*

This is an important contribution to Tibetan ethnography. The study is based on careful fieldwork, analysis, introduction, and translation of relevant myths and literary compositions, and comprehensive description of core components of Tibetan community life. The value of the work is that the study of a distinctively Tibetan women's ritual is accurately and fully presented in its own context. It is a unique record of an endangered tradition. *Paul K Nietupski, John Carroll University*

This study has great value in examining in detail the coming-of-age ritual of girls in a single Tibetan village, thus providing a window through which to better view and understand community-based life, which is soon to change in the face of China-wide modernization. *Huadan Zhaxi, Humboldt University*

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PREFACE

The most fundamental aspects of Tibetans' lives have gone unnoticed and undocumented in the Western academic literature which, in part, reflects the striking lack of local Tibetan voices in Tibetan studies in the West. This important work begins to remedy this lamentable situation. Contributing to a growing opus of English-language ethnographic studies produced by Tibetan graduates of the English Training Program (ETP) in Xining City, Qinghai Province, China, the authors provide a rare view of the complex practices among Tibetans in rural southeast Qinghai associated with the hair-changing rituals that announce the sexual maturity of teenage girls.

The hair-changing ritual was once widely practiced in the Tibetan farming and semi-pastoralist communities of eastern Amdo, the region now divided among the rural counties of China's Qinghai and Gansu provinces. It was arguably the only major rite-of-passage that put girls front and center; there was no equivalent rite for boys. Yet its significance for Tibetans seems to have largely escaped the Chinese and western observers who wrote about the region from the early twentieth century on. As this study makes clear, these practices are about much more than just girls and their hair. In fact, in the days-long rite of passage, the preparations and festivities engage a whole cosmological nexus of fortune, purity, fertility, sexuality, and exchange, recruiting the participation of men and women across the community and entailing future (mutual aid, kinship, and affinal) relationships among them. As such, the hair-changing ritual strikingly demonstrates that gender and kinship relations are not marginal concerns but core aspects of all Tibetans' social lives in these regions.

This study's rich detail, and its description of a particular instance of the rite in 2007, is fruitful food for thought, especially in light of the rapid social and economic changes now taking place in rural Tibetan regions of China increasingly experiencing development and urbanization. For one thing, unlike other studies, here we have a full text of a ritual speech contextualized along with the accompanying actions, objects, and exchanges. The study thus gives us a way to link local Tibetans' systems of metaphor, cosmology,

and value with the contemporary circulations of gifts and guests that are subject to so much flux under new forms of state-sponsored consumer capitalism. For another, as Tibetan women are increasingly called upon to hold up rural localities and household economies as men travel to seek cash and wages, this study provides us an invaluable baseline against which to consider the fundamentally gendered implications of socioeconomic change for rural Tibetans.

*Charlene Makley
Reed College*

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I also would like to extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Charles Kevin Stuart, Gerald Roche, Rin chen rdo rje, and Tshe dbang rdo rje for carefully editing the book from beginning to end. I am indebted to Dr. Kevin Stuart and Gerald Roche, who never failed to give me valuable advice.

Heartfelt thanks to Libu Lakhi who generously assisted me by videoing my sister, Dpal mo mtsho, during her hair changing ritual, and 'Phags pa who assisted me in making the book covers.

Finally, I thank Anna Maskiell for making the kin diagrams that are available at <http://www.archive.org/details/TsheDpalRdoRjeEtAl-ATibetanGirlsHairChangingRitual-KiDiagrams>.

² See Mooney (2007) for a photograph and report on Tshe ring skyid (Cairang Ji, b. 1946).

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Thirteen-year old Dpal mo mtsho's (b. 1994) hair changing ritual in Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China is described. The hair changing ritual is a coming-of-age ceremony that announces that the girl is available for marriage.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One reviews relevant literature, study methods are described, and the village is introduced. Part Two gives a generalized, normative description of the ritual; how guests are invited and identifies them; the girl's clothing; the girl's ornaments; ritual helpers; labor division for ritual activities; food, drinks, and cigarettes served to the guests; the girl's hair; the day before the day of rituals; the gathering of children; the gathering of villagers; the evening of the party day; the night of the party day; leave-taking; and the party for ritual helpers on the departure day. Part Three provides the same information as Part Two, but with specific details for Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ritual as it was held in 2007.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Very little literature was found on hair changing rituals among Tibetan females. Furthermore, what was found deals with hair changing only in the context of marriage rituals, and thus is peripheral to the present case. Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring (1983), Tshe 'grub (1991), Blo bzang (1987), and Hu'u pen (1984) each present a single hair changing speech. However, the speeches are presented without information as to who the orators were and where, when, and how the speeches were collected. These four speeches share these elements: how the matchmaker proposed marriage to the girl's family; the girl's parents' initial disagreement; divination; village elders deciding that it was best for the girl to marry the young man who had proposed; the girl being sad to leave her home and marry into the groom's home, and being comforted; promises made to the girl that she would receive clothing, ornaments, what was needed to dress her

hair, and a horse; and advising the girl to behave well in the groom's home.

Su sprang thar rgya mtsho (1996)³ reports that brides in Gro tshang (Ledu) County, Mtsho shar Region, Mtsho sngon Province have a hair changing ritual the day the bride leaves her home for the groom's home. Villagers, friends, and relatives gather at the girl's home in the morning and enjoy food, tea, and liquor. The author provides several texts of songs sung during the proceedings.

Nam mkha' (2002, 89-91) reports that girls in Bya khog Village, Mang ra County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province had a hair changing ceremony at the age of thirteen in the past. Now, however, this is not practiced. Instead, the family holds a hair changing ceremony the day before the bride leaves for the groom's home. On that day, the girl's parents invite their relatives and the groom. Two women from the bride's village who are wealthy, not widowed, and are locally respected are asked to dress the girl's hair. A man from the village sings a hair changing song, which Nam mkha' does not provide.

Tang (2002, 59-69) reports on Tibetan traditional rites of passage associated with birth, initiation, marriage, and death. The 'initiation' section of the study focuses mostly on hair changing. Tang concludes that this ritual gives the girl the status of an adult and a full member of the community, and also observes that in 'certain' areas of Tibet, a *shangtou* (literally: above head) rite is held for a girl when she reaches the age of seventeen on the second day of the first lunar month. Her hair is made into at least ten braids and ornamented, and she wears a Tibetan robe. He also reports that when a girl reaches the age of seventeen or eighteen in Qinghai and Gansu, her parents must hold the *shangtou* rite for her. However, he does not identify the particular areas in these two provinces where such rituals occur.

Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2006, 26) devote a paragraph to hair changing which, given the lack of information on this topic, we quote in its entirety:

³ The same material was published in *Sbrang char* 1984 (1):44-51, (2):54-64, (3):12-32, and (4):50-59. This was the only hair changing material found in a search of *Sbrang char* 1 (1981) - 102 (2007).

In Ne'u na Village most Tibetan families observe a rite of passage for girls when they reach the particular ages of thirteen or fifteen. On the occasion of this hair ceremony or *skra phab*, the girl's family invites all relatives and all villagers for a banquet. Early in the morning, the hair makers plait the girl's hair into many thin braids and tie them with a white silk-scarf and many silver *thon ni* ཐୱନ୍ ཉୱି or *tha na* ཐନ୍ ... *ca la* କାଲା... and *hog* ହୋ... The girl also wears new Tibetan *phrug* ଫ୍ରୁଗ. The hair dressers are all married women and are carefully chosen from among many village women. They should be good looking, should not have broken teeth, be blind and so on. They should be healthy, hard working and should not be mentally ill. The girl's hair ceremony announces that she is old enough to care for a family, is ready to accept boys coming to propose and is ready to marry. After the hair ceremony, village boys make efforts to sleep with the girl and ask her to marry them.

Apart from the quote above, the only other information on hair changing rituals published in English comes from Makley (2007), who briefly mentions such rituals were practiced in Bsang chu County, Kan lho Prefecture, Kan su'u (Gansu) Province. It is worth noting that Skorupski and Cech (1984) in their work on major Tibetan life-cycle events, do not mention hair changing rituals.⁴

The Chinese and Tibetan literature are generally vague generalizations lacking contextualization of oral texts, conflation of the hair changing ritual with marriage, and little information on the ritual in this work's study area. The

⁴ In 2009, Blo bzang tshe ring was writing a MA thesis at Silliman University (Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, the Philippines) on a hair changing ritual in a village in the Bla brang area and 'brug mo skyid was writing about marriage in a village in Khri ka County that included a section on hair changing.

current work is therefore significant in its detail and focus on a specific hair changing ritual in a specific site that provides a complete description of the ritual and contextualizes and annotates related oral texts.

Filmed mostly by Libu Lakhi, more than three hours of the ritual described in this book may be viewed and downloaded using these links:

- Part 1: <http://tiny.cc/mWuCh> (73 minutes)⁵
- Part 2: <http://tiny.cc/MQHIK> (97 minutes)
- Part 3: <http://tiny.cc/SXtAC> (73 minutes)

More than one hundred photographs of the ceremony are available at <http://tiny.cc/DwLEt>.

METHOD

Interviews and participant observation provided the materials for this paper. The girl's father (Rdo rje bkra shis b. 1953), mother (Sgrol ma mtsho b. 1958), Tshe ring skyid (b. 1945), Phag mo (b. 1942), Phag mo skyid (b. 1939), and Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936) were interviewed. Tshe dpal rdo rje videotaped the interviews, which were informal, unstructured conversations. Notes were not taken during the interviews, nor were transcriptions of the interviews made.

In addition to conducting the interviews, the first author has observed and participated in ten hair changing ceremonies held in Brag dmar nang, Mes nyag yar ka, and Mes nyag mar ka villages.

The hair changing songs from Tshe ring skyid (b. 1945) were recorded in 2007, and Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ritual was videoed.⁶

⁵ Original links are given in References.

⁶ The video recording was done by Libu Lakhi and the first author.

LOCATION

This study examines a hair changing ritual in a farming village in a rural Amdo Tibetan area in Mtsho sngon Province, PR China held on the fifth day of the first lunar month, 2007. Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village is situated in the east of Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. It is forty kilometers from the village to Khri ka County Town, twenty kilometers to the township center, and 110 kilometers to Zi ling (Xining) City, the provincial capital.

Dkar brjid Township has twenty-two administrative villages, including Brag dmar nang Village, which is one of eight all-Tibetan administrative villages in the township; the others have Han and Hui residents or a mixture of Han, Hui, and Tibetan inhabitants. All 240 Brag dmar nang villagers (fifty households) live in adobe-wood rooms constructed around open courtyards. The village is located in Lcang ra Valley. Natural conifer forests cover the Mtsho 'khyil Mountains west of the village. The village adjoins Sde tsha Tibetan Autonomous Township, Dpa' lung Hui Autonomous County, Mtsho shar Region to the east. Despite Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village's administrative affiliation, it culturally belongs to Sde tsha Tibetan Autonomous Township. This is shown, for example, by the fact that when villages in Sde tsha Township hold religious and secular ceremonies and festivals such as Lnga ba'i gdugs dkar,⁷ Brag dmar nang Village and four villages⁸ in Sde tsha Township gather to chant Gdugs dkar for one day in each of three villages and two days in each of two villages from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth days of the fifth lunar month. Brag dmar nang villagers must join the other four villages in a *sngags pa 'cham* dance on the third day of the third lunar month and in displaying a large *thang ka* depicting the deity of the Future

⁷ During this festival, Gdugs dkar is chanted on the nineteenth to the twenty-sixth days of the fifth lunar month. Gdugs dkar literally means 'White Umbrella'. It is the scripture of the goddess of the same name who has a thousand hands and heads.

⁸ The four villages are Lcang rtsa, Grang ka, Mes nyag yar ka, and Mes nyag mar ka.

Buddha, on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month at Upper Sde tsha Monastery.⁹ Monks from Brag dmar nang Village and the other six villages must go to Lower Sde tsha Monastery,¹⁰ located fifteen kilometers from the village.

The following villages are situated in Lcang ra Valley:

- Mgon rgya Administrative Village¹¹ (Han and Tibetan)
- Ne'u lung Administrative Village (Han and Tibetan)
- Zha lung thang Natural Village (Han and Tibetan)
- 'on sgyu ske Natural Village (Han and Tibetan)
- Lo yag Administrative Village (Han)
- Lnga rgya Natural Village (Han and Tibetan)
- Ske rgya Natural Village (Tibetan)
- Sdong rgan thang Administrative Village (Han and Tibetan)
- Sum pa Tibetan Administrative Village (Tibetan)
- Brag dmar nang Tibetan Administrative Village (Tibetan)

Agriculture

All of Brag dmar nang's 443 *mu*¹² of cultivated land are irrigated from a river originating in the Dgo rtse Mountains, three kilometers to the north. The main crop is wheat, which people use for self-consumption (bread, noodles). Other crops include barley, beans, potatoes, and rapeseed. The government distributed land on the basis of the number of

⁹ Upper Sde tsha Monastery is a Dge lugs pa monastery founded in 1903 by the fourth Zhwa dmar pan+Ti ta dge 'dun bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho. It had 300 monks in 2007.

¹⁰ Lower Sde tsha Monastery was founded in 1641 by Lama Dbang chos, and is a branch monastery of Bya khyung Monastery. It had twenty monks in 2007.

¹¹ An administrative village, *xingzheng cun*, consists of several natural villages, *ziran cun*. Natural villages are clusters of households that are recognized by locals as communities, but are not recognized as such by the government.

¹² One *mu* is equal to one-fifteenth of a hectare or one-sixth of an acre; fifteen *mu* = one hectare, and six *mu* = one acre.

household members in 1983. Agriculture is locally challenging because:

- 220 *mu* of the land is one kilometer from the riverbank. Irrigation is difficult because the earth ditches that channel the water are easily damaged by the water they carry. Much labor is required to constantly watch and repair the channels when irrigating. During summer and spring, fields are irrigated three times a month for a total of about four months.
- Drought is common and hail occasionally destroys crops.
- Chemical fertilizer that locals believe greatly increases crop yields is very expensive. For example in 2007, a fifty kilogram bag of *linsuan er'an* ($N-P^2O^5-K^2O$ 13-44-0) cost 160 RMB. One bag was used in its entirety to fertilize three to four *mu*.
- Plowing, planting, irrigating, weeding, and harvesting are labor-intensive activities. Weeding is traditionally women and girls' duty, and plowing is men and boys' work. Both females and males plant, irrigate, and harvest. Recently, increasing numbers of villagers use tractors to plow and transport the harvest to the home and use herbicides. Weeding, plowing, and planting have become mechanized.

Livestock

In addition to farming, each household has several head of livestock—mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, and cattle—which are herded on Za sgang, Thang chen, Khab sgang, and Dmar sdang mountains, all of which are within Brag dmar nang Village territory.

Income

Average annual cash income per person is approximately 200 RMB. People earn cash by:

- selling goats and goat wool

- selling wheat, rapeseed, and barley
- young people leave the village to collect caterpillar fungus (*Cordyceps sinensis*)¹³ and to do road and construction work

Education

Most villagers born before 1976 have little or no formal education. Most are illiterate. In 2007, the village had approximately thirty-seven school-age children (five to fourteen years of age). Nine of these children did not attend school. Twenty-eight were enrolled in primary school of whom ten attended Brag dmar nang Primary School;¹⁴ the remaining eighteen attended Lo yag Village Primary School, which is three kilometers from Brag dmar nang Village. Approximately ninety percent of the students graduating from Lo yag School continue schooling in Khri ka County Nationalities Middle School, which has both senior and junior grades. The remaining ten percent return home and work with their family members.

¹³ A rare medicinal herb used as a general tonic. See Huang et al. (2001) for details of its medical properties.

¹⁴ The school was built by the government and local people in 1986.

PART TWO

THE SKRA STON

INTRODUCTION

We now turn to the main focus of this paper: the Skra ston (literally: hair ritual),¹⁵ which announces that a girl is available to be married and is old enough to have sexual relations. We begin with a schedule of preparations:

Figure 1. Party Schedule.

Day	Activity
1	Choose an auspicious date for the party.
2-7	Invite relatives.
8	Discuss labor division.
9	Invite villagers.
10-13	Prepare liquor and cigarettes.
14-15	Prepare <i>kha btags</i> (ceremonial scarves) and sashes (used to reward singers at the party).
16-18	Prepare snacks.
18-19	Prepare meat.
20	Fry bread.
21	Make steamed buns.
22	Make steamed stuffed dumplings.
23	Make boiled stuffed dumplings.
24-26	Prepare vegetables.
27	Prepare the girl's hair.
28	The girl goes with village children to every home in Brag dmar nang Village and invites them to the following day's party.

Every girl in Brag dmar nang Village must¹⁶ have this ritual when she is thirteen, fifteen, or seventeen years old.¹⁷ The ages of thirteen and fifteen are considered best because a

¹⁵ *Ston* usually means 'party', however, in this context, the meaning of *ston* is closer to 'ritual', and it has been translated as such.

¹⁶ We are unaware of a village female who is older than seventeen who has not had the ritual.

¹⁷ Nine year old girls are also candidates for the ritual, but locally, no nine year old girl in living memory has undergone this ritual.

girl who is seventeen is thought to be 'old' in the sense that she might have already had sex. If a girl does have sex before she has this ritual, rumors circulate about her. Villagers generally think that a girl is not old enough to have sex until after this ritual. If a girl does have sex after the ritual and before she marries, there are no rumors. For these reasons, families wish to hold this ritual when their daughters are thirteen or fifteen but they may be unable to do so if, for example, one of their close relatives has recently died.

If parents have several daughters, they may hold a single hair changing ritual for them all according to the oldest girl's age, e.g., if the oldest daughter is thirteen, and the younger daughters are eight, ten, and twelve, they are also included in the thirteen year old daughter's hair changing ritual. Each daughter must have her own clothing, ornaments, and the appropriate hairstyle.

The best time to hold Skra ston is during Lo sar (the fifteen day New Year period) because students, official workers, and people who have married and moved away from their parents, gather at their natal home. Furthermore, people have leisure time and have prepared much food for Lo sar.

Skra ston includes two gatherings. The main gathering, *ston mo*, occurs at night, and is attended by relatives, villagers, and family friends. *Ston mo* is preceded in the morning by *ma sru mgo 'dus* 'female gathering', and is attended by all the villagers.

INVITING RELATIVES

An adult living with the girl (usually her mother, father, brother, or sister) invites all the family's relatives within three generations and all the villagers. The *A zhang zhang bo*¹⁸ is invited first and other relatives (from both the paternal and maternal sides) immediately thereafter in no particular order. The inviter brings two gifts when he invites the *A zhang zhang bo*. One is given because he will be the *A*

¹⁸ The role and position of the *A zhang zhang bo* is described later.

zhang zhang bo at the party, and the second because the family asks him not to bring the girl a robe—the *zhang lwa* (robe given by the *A zhang zhang bo*). If he brings a *zhang lwa*, then the family must give a horse to him at the party.¹⁹ The gifts given to the *A zhang zhang bo* are usually a tea brick, a bottle of liquor, and *kha btags*. An oral invitation is given at the invitee's home.

Relatives who are invited later than others might not attend or be upset. For example, if most people are invited a month before the ceremony and one of the girl's cousins is invited just fifteen days before the ceremony, then the cousin will likely not attend because of the invitation's tardiness.

Relatives must attend if invited, unless they have other pressing concerns, are too old, or are ill. If a death in the family of an invitee prevents them from attending, certain of the invitee's close relatives hold a party at the same time, or if the invitee is too busy visiting other relatives during Lo sar, then they send gifts on the party day with others who do attend. If invited relatives are absent, it indicates they are displeased with the family for such reasons as the inviter's family did not attend a party of the invitee in the past, the two families quarreled, or the invitation was late.

All village households must be invited to the party. It is acceptable for villagers to receive the invitation about twenty days prior to the party.

CLOTHING

Phrug is a Tibetan robe worn at rituals. *Phrug* also refers to reddish-brown woven woolen cloth that is made in Lhasa and Sku 'bum. Lhasa *phrug* is considered by Brag dmar nang villagers to be the best. The *phrug* robe collar is made of colorful cloth and then sewn on the robe. In 2005 and earlier, robes had collars, sleeve ends, and robe bottom edges trimmed with otter skin. Later, in response to an influential

¹⁹ Tshe dpal rdo rje's paternal grandmother, Sgrol dkar (b. 1935), said that she had never heard of or seen a horse presented to the *A zhang zhang bo* in Brag dmar nang Village. She commented similarly on the *A zhang zhang bo* giving a *zhang lwa* to his niece.

Buddhist teaching against unnecessarily killing wildlife, local families removed the otter skin trim and kept it in their homes.

Another important robe is *tsha ru* 'lambskin', which is made of cloth with lambskin lining. The girl must have both Tibetan robes during Skra ston; she wears one and the other is presented to her by her parents.

Guests and the girl wore fox-skin hats during hair changing ceremonies before 2005. However, such hats were not worn for the reason cited above in 2007. Instead, *zhwa mo sna bzhi*, which is made of artificial fox fur and colorful cloth, was worn. Most Brag dmar nang families purchase this sort of hat for girls instead of buying fox-skin hats.

For the hair changing ceremony, the parents must prepare at least the clothing described above and one hat for the girl.

ORNAMENTS²⁰

The most common ornaments prepared for the girls for the hair changing ritual are a pair of *skra lung* or hair ornaments, a pair of *rna lung* (earrings) or *rna tog sbal ba*, a *gseb rtags*, and the *glo zung* (a silver ornament worn at the waist). Each is described below.

The *skra lung* is a pair of long, narrow cloth strips. At the top, or *skra dus*, embroidered sunflowers are featured. Seven or eight buttons are atop the *skra dus*. The girl's braids are sheathed inside the *skra dus* and then the buttons are fastened. Underneath are small panels of imitation coral beads. Beneath the beads are four attached, engraved square silver panels. Villagers refer to these panels as *rin po che* ('precious', though village elders said it actually means 'treasures from the sea'). A string of four imitation turquoise beads separates the panels on each strip. Beneath the panel is a small rectangular panel featuring zigzag lines of different

²⁰ Dkar mtsho skyid and Tshe dbang rdo rje (2006) studied female hair ornaments in an agricultural community in Thun te County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province, but provided no information on girls' hair changing rituals.

colored threads. The eight panels were made by a Han silversmith for 800 RMB in Sde tsha Township Town in 2007.

The *rna tog sbal ba* are commonly a pair of silver knots²¹ inlaid with a coral bead in the middle of each. Two silver frogs are connected to each other with small silver chains. Seven or eight small chains connect seven or eight small bells to each frog. A silver hook at the head of the earring passes through the girl's ear.

The *gseb rtags* is a piece of thick cloth made of six different colors: white, green, yellow, blue, red, and black. The upper part is white cloth attached to the sash, and worn on the right side. The lower part features many red tassels.

The *glo zung* refers to a large, teardrop-shaped silver panel with a coral bead in the center on the upper part that is connected to a crescent-moon-shaped silver panel underneath, which also features a coral bead in the center. The *glo zung* is attached to the girl's sash and worn on the right side; it cost 600 RMB in 2007 and was made by the Han silversmith mentioned earlier. There are also two red and green pieces of cloth connected to the lower part of the *glo zung*.

HELPERS AND DISCUSSION OF LABOR DIVISION

Village families are divided into two groups. In 2007, no village resident could explain why or when this division occurred. The groups are called *sha nye* 'relatives', though members of a single *sha nye* may not necessarily be relatives. When families hold funerals, hair changing ceremonies, marriages, and household chanting rituals, the same *sha nye* members are asked to help. About ten days before the ceremony, the girl's family invites fellow *sha nye* families to their home at night to discuss the division of labor. This discussion is known as *ston gros* 'party discussion'. At least one person from each *sha nye* family is expected to attend. Tea, bread, and cigarettes are offered.

²¹ The endless knot is one of the Eight Auspicious Symbols (conch shell, lotus, wheel, parasol, endless knot, a pair of golden fish, banner of victory, and a treasure vase).

During the one or two hour discussion, it is decided who will be the *ja dpon* (literally: 'tea leader', but suggesting 'chief of the helpers') and specific duties for the coming ritual are assigned. The host offers pork, noodles, and liquor to the guests when the discussion ends.

On the ceremony day, the girl's family gives the necessities for the party—food, liquor, cigarettes, toasted sunflower seeds, peanuts, fruit, *kha btags*, and sashes to the helpers and the *ja dpon*, who then make all arrangements.

PREPARATIONS

Food

The family ensures that there is ample food for guests. If there is not enough food, it means the party is poorly organized. Expensive food is not required; a family provides food it can afford. The most common foods are *tshod ma* (steamed stuffed dumplings), *pan shul* (boiled stuffed dumplings), *cung rdog*²² (steamed bread buns); *go dmar* (fried bread); *phag sha* (boiled pork); *la dwang* (radish soup);²³ two dishes (e.g., mutton cooked with chili and potato noodles and pork cooked with celery and onions); and *'bras sil* (rice cooked with butter, sugar, *gro ma* (wild yams), and raisins).

Only Brag dmar nang villagers come to the *ma sru ngo 'dus* in the morning. Steamed dumplings, fried bread, steamed buns, and tea are offered. When villagers are about to leave after the morning ceremony, steamed dumplings, fried bread, steamed bread buns, *'bras sil*, and tea are offered.

The same food plus two dishes are offered in the evening. Radish soup and cooked pork are offered to all the guests late at night. Boiled dumplings are provided the next morning when the guests are about to depart. All party

²² Local people add a mixture of rapeseed oil and *sga ser* (turmeric) to wheat dough to make this bread.

²³ *La dwang* was made of pork, potato noodles, potatoes, radish, celery, and onion.

attendees are offered food, regardless of their interest in eating.

Peanuts, sunflower seeds, apples, and candies are offered. Peanuts and sunflower seeds are especially plentiful and are mostly enjoyed by female guests.

Drinks and Cigarettes

Tea is only offered to the guests during meals. Otherwise liquor, beer, and cigarettes are offered. No special non-alcoholic drinks are prepared for females during the party; they may drink liquor and beer if they want, but few do. There is a *chang ma* (liquor servant), for each double row of seating. Each *chang ma* is a member of the family's *sha nye*. He stays in his appointed double row of seating at all times and enthusiastically offers liquor, beer, and cigarettes to guests.

Liquor, beer, and cigarettes are purchased according to the family's financial condition. Expensive liquor and cigarettes are not required. The most common liquors are Yipin huzhu (8.70 RMB per bottle), Huzhu daqu (six RMB per bottle), and Huzhu tequ (nine RMB per bottle). These liquors are produced in the Huzhu Liquor Company in Weiyuan, Mtsho shar Region, Mtsho sngon Province. Common cigarettes are Ruan furong (two RMB per package) and Ying furong (2.5 RMB per package), which are made by the Henan Zhongyan Gongye Company in Henan Province and Jinxuchang (three RMB per package). The most common beer prepared for the ceremony is Huanghe (Yellow River; two RMB per bottle) made by the Qinghai Huanghe Jianjiang Beer LTD Company in Zi ling City.

Dressing the Girl's Hair

The girl's hair is made into many small braids. There is no particular number of braids; it depends on the thickness and length of the hair. *Skra lung* are connected to the end of the braids. A single wooden comb is used when braiding the girl's hair; plastic combs are never used. We were unable to find anyone who could explain why. The liquid for making

the hair lustrous is made by soaking rapeseed in water for about two days, which produces a dense brown liquid called *zar chu*.

The girl's hair is dressed by a woman from a family that is not from the girl's own household, for example, her father's sister-in-law who lives in the same village. The hairdresser must be invited by an adult who lives with the girl while inviting other relatives. The hairdresser must come to the girl's home on the day before the ceremony. She may ask other village women for assistance if she is not skilled at hairdressing.

GUESTS

Maternal Relatives

Male maternal relatives are the most important guests, and are collectively called *A zhang*. One of the mother's brothers is the *A zhang zhang bo*, the most respected and deferred to person at the party. His gift to the girl is of much greater value than that of all other guests. He is offered the head seat of the middle double row of seating, which is the most important row of seating. The most central double row of seating is for the *A zhang*, who are offered food, liquor, and cigarettes first; the *A zhang zhang bo* is offered first among the *A zhang*. *A zhang* also present their gifts first, and the *A zhang zhang bo* is the first among them.

The *A zhang* gather at the *A zhang zhang bo*'s home about three hours prior to departure for the party, drink to become a bit intoxicated, dress in Tibetan robes, and put on ornaments. They come to the party as a group.

Paternal Relatives

Paternal relatives are the second-most important guests. Paternal relatives are '*grul ba* (guests). The closest relatives are the most important '*grul ba*. There is no special seat for any of the '*grul ba*, who sit on the left of the *A zhang*'s row of seating. '*grul ba* come to the party individually.

Friends

The girl's family may invite close friends of any family member, who can be invited at any time before the party. There are generally only three to five such friends who attend each hair changing ritual in Brag dmar nang Village.

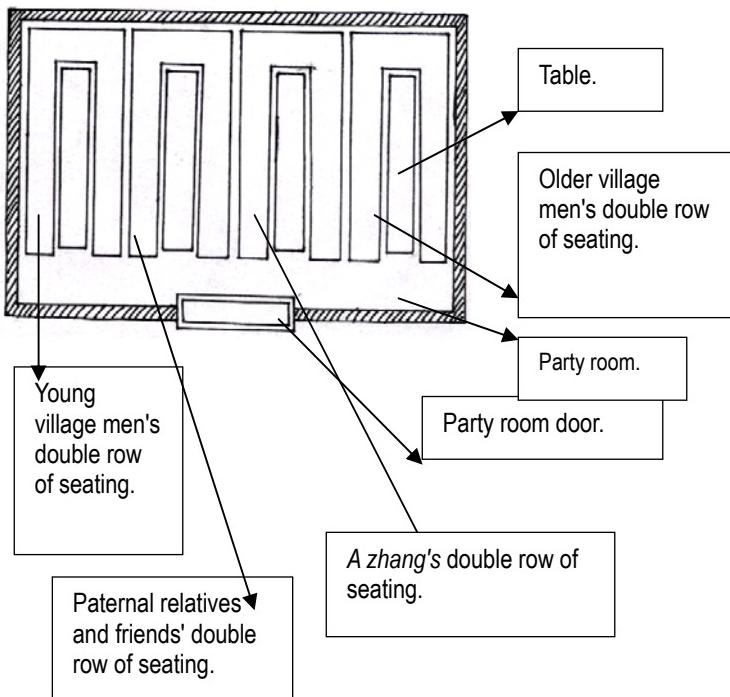
Villagers

Guests from the local village have two double rows; one is for male villagers older than thirty-five and the other is for younger male villagers. Village females have no designated seating; they sit around the end of the rows.

SEATING

Seating is important during the party; people do not sit randomly. There should be at least four double rows. The right middle double row of seating is for the *A zhang* and is called *gdong gral* (main row). Older men from Brag dmar nang Village occupy the second most important seating position, in the double row of seating on the *A zhang*'s left; this is called the *rgad po gral* (old-men rows). On the *A zhang*'s right are seated the paternal relatives in the *'grul ba gral* (guests row). This is the third most important double row of seating. Young village men sit on the right of the paternal relatives in the *mtha' gral*.

Figure 2. Seating on the evening of the hair changing ritual.



If there are five double rows, young men sit on the left of the old village men, and older village women sit to the right of the '*grul ba*'. If six rows are used, an extra row of mixed *A zhang* and '*grul ba*' is added next to the *A zhang*'s row. Four double rows is the most common seating arrangement.

At the *ma sru mgo 'dus* there are only two double rows. One is for older village men. The officiating *sngags pa* sits at the head. The other double rows are for village boys and young men. At the end of the rows, village females crowd around the girl, squatting or seated on stools. They sing the hair changing song while the *sngags pa* chants *Sde brgyad ljags bsngo*,²⁴ *Bu mo'i skra 'bebs*,²⁵ and *Bkra shis g.yang*

²⁴ This common scripture praises the local deities and asks for their blessings.

²⁵ This is the hair changing scripture and is only chanted at the ritual.

'bod.²⁶

PREPARATIONS THE DAY BEFORE THE PARTY

All the helpers (one person from each *sha nye* family) come to the party site very early in the morning, and prepare for the party under the *ja dpon*'s direction. Each helper brings a piece of white felt made from sheep or goat wool and a table. Guests are offered a meal in another room, which can only accommodate people from one double row of seating at a time. Two helpers representing the girl's family go to village homes reminding them of the party the next day and inviting them again.

GATHERING OF THE CHILDREN

Children six to fifteen years old come to the girl's home that afternoon around five. They accompany the *bag ma* (the girl for whom the party is held)²⁷ to invite all the village households to the next morning's *ma sru mgo 'dus*. When the group reaches the courtyard gate of each home, they say:²⁸ "Tomorrow at a certain time,²⁹ all of you are invited to have a bowl of tea at *ma sru mgo 'dus* very early tomorrow morning." The family members come outside to see how

²⁶ This common scripture calls good fortune to the family.

²⁷ *Bag ma* more commonly refers to a new groom, but is used in this particular context to refer to the girl for whom the ritual is held. A possible explanation for this is the ritual's connection to consensual sex, and the fact that in such herding areas of Mtsho sngon as Mang ra and Khri ka, the hair changing ritual is performed immediately before marriage.

²⁸ This short text is based on the first author's familiarity and knowledge stemming from his participation in hair changing rituals. No Tibetan is given and the English translation is an approximation of what is said in colloquial Tibetan.

²⁹ The *sngags pa* chooses an auspicious time; it is considered very good if the villagers gather as early as possible.

beautifully the *bag ma* is dressed. They judge her beauty according to her hair and her ornaments. After the children have invited all the village families, they gather at the girl's home. Helpers offer them tea, steamed buns, steamed stuffed dumplings, fried bread, and noodles.

At the same time, the *sngags pa* chants Lha mo bskang ba³⁰ in the girl's home.

THE MORNING PARTY

Villagers Gather

At about seven on the morning of the day of the party, two helpers go again to invite all the village households for *ma sru mgo 'dus* while other helpers prepare food. When the sun rises, guests come to the girl's home. Helpers offer tea, fried bread, and steamed buns. The villagers cannot refuse, and must enter the meal room and be served.

Village Females Sing the Hair Changing Songs, the *Sngags pa* Chants, and Males Give Money to Females

There are two double rows in the *ma sru mgo 'dus* room. The *sngags pa* sits in the head seat. Old men sit in the double row of seating beside the *sngags pa*, and young men sit in the other double rows. A piece of white felt is in front of the two double rows on which a Buddhist swastika is made with wheat seeds. All the *ma sru* (village females) sit squeezed together at the felt edge. A girl born in the same zodiac year as the *bag ma* is the *bag rogs* (*bag ma*'s companion) and sits in front of the *bag ma* during the hairdressing. The hairdresser sits behind the girl. Female children who are about the age of the *bag ma* age sit on both sides. Other village females sit crowded around them.

The *sngags pa* chants Sde brgyad ljags bsngo, Bu mo skra 'bebs, and Bkra shis g.yang 'bod while the women and

³⁰ This common scripture praises a female protective deity, Dpal ldan lha mo, in order to receive her protection.

the girls sing the hair changing song with the hairdresser.

Tshe ring skyid, the singer from whom this version of the hair changing song was recorded, is a native of Brag dmar nang, born in 1946. She was the only person in Brag dmar nang who knew the hair changing song well in 2007. She said that other women could recite this song in its entirety in the past. At the hair changing party, a woman able to recite the song sat between two women who could not. First, she would sing a line to the woman on her right (for example) and while that woman repeated it, the middle woman would recite the next line to the woman on her left. Then, the woman in the middle would turn to the left and right, reciting lines to each woman, which they repeated.

This song was recorded when Tshe ring skyid helped Phag mo skyid, Phag mo, and 'brug mo sing.

The Hair Changing Song

1

¹ ད' རྩ ན ཉ ཁ ཉ ཁ ན ན ན ན ན ན ན
² ཡ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ
³ ག ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ
⁴ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ
⁵ ཁ ཁ ཁ ཁ
⁶ ཁ ཁ ཁ

¹ At the first glimmer of dawn,

² The white rooster (crowed to) signify approaching dawn;

³ The spotted sparrow chirped together (with the crowing rooster);

⁴ The black crow sailed across the sky.

⁵ The azure sky is splendid (even when the black crow) doesn't sail across (it);

⁶ The azure sky is even more splendid (when the black crow) sails across (it).

¹ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
² दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
³ वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁴ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁵ वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁶ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥

- ¹ At the first glimmer of dawn,
² The first glimmer of dawn was immensely bright.
³ Fathers and uncles owed their congregation to the immense brightness.
⁴ (I was) dressed in clothing by fathers and uncles upon their congregation.
⁵ I shall be dressed in clothing of finest patterns;
⁶ I shall be dressed in clothing of finest patterns and that shall adorn me well.

¹ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
² दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
³ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁴ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁵ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
⁶ दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥

- ¹ At the first glimmer of dawn,
² At the crest of sunrise,
³ At the crest of sunrise, mothers and sisters-in-law congregated.
⁴ (I was) decorated with turquoise upon their congregation.
⁵ I shall be decorated with the finest turquoise;
⁶ I shall be decorated with (the finest turquoise) and that shall adorn me well.

¹ वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥
² वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा दृक्दण्डं वर्षा ॥

³କ୍ଷାନ୍ତିଶାଦେଶଙ୍କ(କ୍ଷ)ସଦ୍ୟପେଦ||
⁴ସଦ୍ୟପେଦଦ୍ୱାରୀଦ୍ୟାଦକ୍ଷେତ୍ରଃ||
⁵ଶ୍ଵିଦ୍ୟାଦକ୍ଷେତ୍ରଦିଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣଃ||
⁶ଦ୍ୱାରୀଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣମିଦେଶି||
⁷ଯଦ୍ୟଦ୍ୱାରେକବିଶ୍ଵିଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣଃ||

¹Gold pots are required to warm water for washing (my) hair.

²A pair of gold pots is required.

³We don't have such a pair.

⁴(Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.

⁵(Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.

⁶(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

5

¹କୁର୍ମାଯଶକ୍ଷମଦ୍ୟାଦ୍ୟନ୍ତର୍ଦର୍ଶଣଃ||
²ଶାରୀରଶ୍ରୀଶମଦକାଶନ୍ତିଶଦ୍ୟର୍ଶଣଃ||
³କ୍ଷାନ୍ତିଶାଦେଶଙ୍କ(କ୍ଷ)ସଦ୍ୟପେଦ||
⁴ସଦ୍ୟପେଦଦ୍ୱାରୀଦ୍ୟାଦକ୍ଷେତ୍ରଃ||
⁵ଶ୍ଵିଦ୍ୟାଦକ୍ଷେତ୍ରଦିଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣଃ||
⁶ଦ୍ୱାରୀଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣମିଦେଶି||
⁷ଯଦ୍ୟଦ୍ୱାରେକବିଶ୍ଵିଦ୍ୟାଦର୍ଶଣଃ||

¹Gold combs are required to comb the hair on the right side of (my) head.

²A pair of gold combs is required.

³We don't have such a pair.

⁴(Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.

⁵(Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.

⁶(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

¹ कर्ष-शैक्ष-मद-स-द्वय-र्ष-दर्षण॥
² द्वय-शैक्ष-क-क-शैक्ष-दर्षण॥
³ क-शैक्ष-द-शैक्ष-(ह)-द-स-वेद॥
⁴ द-स-वेद-द-शैक्ष-प-दर्षण॥
⁵ शैक्ष-प-दर्षण-द-द-शैक्ष-दर्षण॥
⁶ द-शैक्ष-प-शैक्ष-स-वेद-षी॥
⁷ अ-य-द-रे-व-क-शैक्ष-षी॥

- ¹ Silver combs are required to comb the hair on the left side of (my) head.
- ² A pair of silver combs is required.
- ³ We don't have such a pair.
- ⁴ (Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.
- ⁵ (Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.
- ⁶ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.
- ⁷ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

¹ कर्ष-शैक्ष-मद-स-द्वय-र्ष-दर्षण॥
² द्वय-शैक्ष-क-क-शैक्ष-दर्षण॥
³ क-शैक्ष-द-शैक्ष-(ह)-द-स-वेद॥
⁴ द-स-वेद-द-शैक्ष-प-दर्षण॥
⁵ शैक्ष-प-दर्षण-द-द-शैक्ष-दर्षण॥
⁶ द-शैक्ष-प-शैक्ष-स-वेद-षी॥
⁷ अ-य-द-रे-व-क-शैक्ष-षी॥

- ¹ Conch shell combs are required to comb the hair on the top of (my) head
- ² A pair of conch shell combs is required.
- ³ We don't have such a pair.
- ⁴ (Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.
- ⁵ (Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.
- ⁶ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

8

¹ शर्षः शयवान्ना॑ वगः॒ वस॒ गणेऽ॒ भुव॒ दर्शन॑॥
² गणेऽ॒ भुव॒ दर्शन॑ वा॑ क॒ शत्रिय॑ दर्शन॑॥
³ क॒ शत्रिय॑ द॒ शर्ष॑ (क॒) र॒ द॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ द॑॥
⁴ र॒ द॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ द॑ श्वीद॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ क॑॥
⁵ श्वीद॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ क॑ व॒ द॒ द॑ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ द॑॥
⁶ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ वा॑ शत्रिय॑ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॑॥
⁷ य॒ द॒ य॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॑॥

¹ Gold pins are required to part the hair on the right side of (my) head.

² A pair of gold pins is required.

³ We don't have such a pair.

⁴ (Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.

⁵ (Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.

⁶ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

9

¹ शर्षः शय॑ वा॑ ना॑ वगः॒ वस॒ द॒ द॒ वा॑ भुव॒ दर्शन॑॥
² द॒ द॒ वा॑ भुव॒ दर्शन॑ वा॑ क॒ शत्रिय॑ दर्शन॑॥
³ क॒ शत्रिय॑ द॒ शर्ष॑ (क॒) र॒ द॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ द॑॥
⁴ र॒ द॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ द॑ श्वीद॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ क॑॥
⁵ श्वीद॒ वा॑ व॒ द॒ क॑ व॒ द॒ द॑ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ द॑॥
⁶ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ वा॑ शत्रिय॑ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॑॥
⁷ य॒ द॒ य॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॒ व॒ द॑॥

¹ Silver pins are required to part the hair on the left side of (my) head.

² A pair of silver pins is required.

³ We don't have such a pair.

⁴ (Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.

⁵ (Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be

obtained this time.

⁶(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

10

¹अर्णवैशाङ्गासामन्तुद्ध्रुवंदर्शनम्॥

²द्विषीषुर्वाक्यातिशादर्शनम्॥

³काशतिशादेष्वः(त)स्त्रियांमदा॥

⁴स्त्रियांमेदाद्विद्वाऽरक्षय॥

⁵श्विद्वाऽरक्षयद्वद्वद्विदेशादर्शनम्॥

⁶द्वदेशावायर्हेषामिर्णी॥

⁷यद्यद्यद्येक्षेषुर्णी॥

¹Conch shell pins are required to part the hair on the top of (my) head.

²A pair of conch shell pins is required.

³We don't have such a pair.

⁴(Since) we don't have (such a pair, they) should be looked for on earth.

⁵(Such a pair) should be looked for on earth and must be obtained this time.

⁶(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁷Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

11

¹अर्णवैवर्ण्यद्वद्विशामन्तुदर्शनम्॥

²द्विषीवस्त्रेष्वादित्तुविशादर्शनम्॥

¹Yak butter is required when hair is first braided.³¹

²Fresh yak butter to decorate (the hair) is required.³²

12

¹श्वायद्वद्विशामन्तुदर्शनम्॥

²द्विषाकेस्मेदिष्वाप्तुष्टुप्तुदर्शनम्॥

³¹ Putting yak butter on hair before it is braided makes the braids easier to plait.

³² Yak butter, when put on the hair, makes it shiny and less likely to become frizzy.

¹ Sheep wool is required when hair braiding is complete.³³

² Two-year-old sheep wool is required.³⁴

13

¹ क्ष-दी-सा-वि-व-य-श-वि-द-क्ष-पि-व॥

² श-वि-द-मि-क्ष-दी-सा-वि-वा-क्ष-पि-व॥

³ वि-वा-व-दा-व-द-वि-वा-क्ष-पि-व॥

⁴ क्ष-वा-य-र-वा-क्ष-वि-वा-क्ष-पि-व॥

⁵ वा-र-वा-क्ष-व-द-वा-क्ष-पि-व॥

⁶ वि-वा-क्ष-द-वा-क्ष-वि-वा-ग-पि-व॥

¹ The braids are not braids (of hair), but braids of gold.

² (We will) undo the braids of gold.

³ (We will) undo them no matter how difficult it is.

⁴ (But only) respectable families will undo (the braids).

⁵ And will display (the braids) to disreputable families.³⁵

⁶ (A respectable family) will both undo and display (the braids).³⁶

14

¹ दर्श-क्ष-व-त्रु-व-र-(त्रु-दी-व) क्ष-द-क्ष-व-द॥

² दर्श-क्ष-व-व-त्रु-वा-व-द-वा-व-व॥

³ त्रु-दी-व-य-व-व-व-त्रु-व-क्ष-व-व-व-व॥

⁴ क्ष-व-व-क्ष-व-त्रु-दी-व-क्ष-व-व॥

⁵ त्रु-दी-व-य-व-व-व-द-व-व-व-व-व॥

⁶ त्रु-दी-व-द-व-व-द-व-व-व-व-व॥

⁷ त्रु-दी-व-व-व-व-व-व-व-व-व-व॥

⁸ वि-वा-त्रु-दी-व-व-व-व-व-व-व-व-व॥

³³ When the hair braiding is complete, a regular comb and a comb with fine teeth are wrapped in sheep wool with a juniper twig and then taken to the *ma sru mgo 'dus*.

³⁴ The wool of two-year-old sheep is considered to be smoother, longer, and less worn than the wool of older sheep.

³⁵ No one we consulted could explain this custom.

³⁶ No one we consulted could explain this custom. This is not actually done.

⁹ ཆྱନ୍ଦର୍ବାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹⁰ ଶ୍ରୀରିତ୍ତବାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹¹ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ତ୍ତାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹² ଦ୍ଵାର୍ତ୍ତାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹³ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ତ୍ତାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹⁴ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ତ୍ତାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹⁵ କରକୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹⁶ ଦ୍ଵାର୍ତ୍ତାକ୍ଷସାଗୁଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||
¹⁷ ନାମାଯକାଦ୍ଧପେଦ୍ମା||

¹ May I have your attention, please? *Dpon rgan!*³⁷

² The earth is where you are seated.

³ A brown *gtor sgam*³⁸ is placed to your right;

⁴ Scripture volumes are stacked before you.

⁵ Your magic power reaches central Tibet;

⁶ Your square felt touches the ground.

⁷ Your fingers are the pen of the Dharma.

⁸ Your black and white (bright) eyes are the wheel of the Dharma.

⁹ Your eloquent tongue (can untie) the knot of the Dharma.³⁹

¹⁰ The sky is where your drum is placed.

¹¹ The *rnga lung*⁴⁰ is where the drumstick is placed.

¹² The first beat (of the drum) made the echoes reach the azure sky,

¹³ Dispersing clouds in the sky.

¹⁴ The second beat made the echoes reach midair,

¹⁵ And it rained as (strongly as) if (a yak was) being milked.

¹⁶ The third beat made the drumbeat reach the earth.

¹⁷ The overhanging cave in the Ba yan⁴¹ area tumbled down at once.

³⁷ *Dpon rgan* is the local oral term for *sngags pa*.

³⁸ Chest for *gtor ma* (a cone-shaped ritual offering made from *rtsam pa*).

³⁹ The *sngags pa*'s eloquence is such that he can explain the intricacies and difficulties of the Dharma.

⁴⁰ One of the two straps on the side of a drum.

⁴¹ Ba yan is the seat of Dpa' lung County.

¹ དྲ୍ଵେ བା ଗୋଟ କେ କ୍ରୂପ ଦ୍ୱା ସନ୍ତ୍ତିଦ ॥
² ଶର୍ଷା ଶା ଏ ସତି କ୍ଷେ ଦନ୍ତ କୁଶ ର ॥
³ ହି କ୍ରୁ (ଶି ଶି) ହ ହିନ୍ଦ କ୍ରୂଷା କ୍ରୂଷା ଶର୍ଷା ॥
⁴ ଶର୍ଷା ଏଣ ଏ ସତି ହ ଏ ଶତେମ କୁଶ ର ॥
⁵ ଶିଦ ଦନ୍ତ କ୍ଷେ ଗୁ କେ କେ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
⁶ ଶର୍ଷା ଏଣ ଏ ସତି ହ ଏ ଶର୍ଷ କୁଶ ର ॥
⁷ ଦନ୍ତ ହେ କ୍ଷେ ଗୁ କେ ଦନ୍ତ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥

- ¹Praise Kong rtse,⁴² the king of tailors!
²When the silk was laid out (about to be) cut,
³Scissors ran like a steed.
⁴When (Kong rtse) took the cloth to sew,
⁵(His) fingers (worked) like prancing lambs.
⁶When (she) took the silk to put on,
⁷(Her robe) hung down like silk of five different colors.

¹ ଏ କେ କଣ ଶର୍ଷା ରା (ଶର୍ଷଦ ଶିଶ) କ୍ଷ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
² ଶର୍ଷା ଦନ୍ତ କ୍ଷ ଗୁ କଣ ଦନ୍ତ କଣ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
³ ଦନ୍ତ ଶର୍ଷ (ଶର୍ଷଦ ଶର୍ଷା) ଶିଦ କି କଣ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
⁴ ଦନ୍ତ ଶର୍ଷ କ୍ଷ କି ଏ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
⁵ ଦନ୍ତ ଶର୍ଷ କ୍ଷ କି କଣ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
⁶ ଶର୍ଷା ଦନ୍ତ କ୍ଷ କି ଶର୍ଷ ଶର୍ଷ କି ଦ ହିନ୍ଦ ॥
⁷ ଦ କି ଦ କଣ କଣ କି ଦ କଣ କି ॥
⁸ ଯଦ ଯଦ କି କି କି ଦ ଶର୍ଷ ଶର୍ଷ ॥

- ¹May I have your attention, please? My great, aged father!
²Dragon-patterned silk is on sale in China's streets.
³There is a mother who proposed to (buy and) load it.
⁴There is a father who goes to (buy and) load it.
⁵There is a horse that carries the load competently.
⁶(I) ask for dragon-patterned silk.

⁴² Kong rtse is Confucius, from whom local people believe Tibetans learnt tailoring.

⁷(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁸ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

17

- ¹ ମାନ୍ଦିକଙ୍କାଳେପାକୁରଙ୍ଗବନ୍ଦା॥
² ସଖୁହୃଦୟଗରଙ୍ଗାଶମିଷବରଧ୍ୟଦା॥
³ ଦୁଃଖାଶ୍ରମ(ଦ୍ୟୋମିତରଶ୍ରମ)ବୈରକିମାତ୍ରିଷାଧ୍ୟଦା॥
⁴ ଦୁଃଖାଶୀତ୍ରଣୁକିମାତ୍ରିଷାଧ୍ୟଦା॥
⁵ ଦୁଃଖାଶୀକରଦରଶନ୍ତିବୈଷାଧ୍ୟଦା॥
⁶ ସଖୁହୃଦୟଗରବୈଷାଶୀର୍ଦ୍ଦପଧ୍ୟଦା॥
⁷ ଦୁଃଖଦୂଷାମାଶର୍କରଶାମିର୍ଦ୍ଦୟଦା॥
⁸ ଯଦ୍ୟଦ୍ୟଦେକବୈଷାଶୀ॥

¹ May I have your attention, please? My gracious mother!

² White turquoise is on sale in Lhasa's streets.

³ There is a mother who proposed to (buy and) load it.

⁴ There is a father who goes to (buy and) load it.

⁵ There is a horse that carries the load competently.

⁶ (I) ask for white turquoise.

⁷ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁸ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

18

- ¹ ମାନ୍ଦିକଙ୍କାଳେପାକୁରଙ୍ଗବନ୍ଦା॥
² କୁମାରୁଦରଗରାଶଯଶାନ୍ତିଷର୍ଦ୍ଦୟଦା॥
³ କୁକୁରକୁରିକୁରଗରମନ୍ଦିନ୍ଦୟଦା॥
⁴ ମାନ୍ଦିନ୍ଦିକାପରମିଲ୍ଲରଙ୍ଗଶା॥

¹ May I have your attention, please? My gracious mother!

² (Your) breasts are (like) white turning conch shells,

³ Mother's milk is (like) pure Yangtse River (water).

⁴ How can I repay her kindness?

19

- ¹ ହାତାପୁଣ୍ୟାପାକୁରଙ୍ଗବନ୍ଦା॥
² ହାତାପୁଣ୍ୟାପୁଣ୍ୟାର୍ଥର୍ଦ୍ଦୟଦା॥
³ ଲ୍ଲାଙ୍ଗମିଷାମେଵିଷାଶୀର୍ଦ୍ଦୟଦା॥

- ¹May I have your attention, please? Father and uncles!
²Father and uncles are (like) tigresses in the forest.
³(I) ask for (tiger) stripes.
⁴(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.
⁵Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

20

¹ଦୁଃଖାତ୍ମକାପରିକ୍ରମାଦିନାମନ୍ତରାମା
²ଦୁଃଖାତ୍ମକାପରିକ୍ରମାଦିନାମନ୍ତରାମା
³ପରିବିଷ୍ଟିଯାଦିଶବ୍ଦିଶବ୍ଦିଶବ୍ଦି
⁴ଦୁଃଖାତ୍ମକାପରିକ୍ରମାଦିନାମନ୍ତରାମା
⁵ଦୁଃଖାତ୍ମକାପରିକ୍ରମାଦିନାମନ୍ତରାମା

- ¹May I have your attention, please? Father and uncles!
²Father and uncles are (like) cuckoos in the forest.
³(I) ask for fruits (from) overhead.
⁴(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.
⁵Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

21

¹ଦ୍ୟାତ୍ରିଷ୍ଣାପକୁର୍ବନ୍ଦିଃ ॥
²ଦ୍ୟାମକୁର୍ବନ୍ଦିଃ ॥
³କୁର୍ବନ୍ଦିଶମ୍ଭଵିଷ୍ଯାଧିରେଷ୍ଟିଦିଃ ॥
⁴ଦ୍ୟାଦେଶାମାରହିଷ୍ମାଧିରେଷ୍ଟିଦିଃ ॥
⁵ଯଦ୍ୟଦ୍ୟଦ୍ୟର୍ବନ୍ଦିଶମ୍ଭଵିଷ୍ଯାଧିରେଷ୍ଟିଦିଃ ॥

- ¹May I have your attention, please? Father and uncles!
²Father and uncles are (like) the Yellow River.
³(I) ask for otter skin.
⁴(I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.
⁵Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

22

³ གක·གཡු·དར·བද·གී·རේ·གཡ්ද||

⁴ ད·ඩෙස·ඩ·ගන්ශා·මි·රේ·ශී||

⁵ ཝ·ය·ර·රේ·ඩ·මි·ෂ්ලේ·ශී||

¹ May I have your attention, please? Father and uncles!

² Father and uncles are (like) Rma chen Snow Mountain.⁴³

³ (I) ask for a turquoise silk-like lake.

⁴ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁵ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

23

¹ ཇ·ནූ·ජ්ඡ·ය·ක්රු·ඩ්බ·ද්||

² ཁ·ඛ·දුෂ·ඡ්ඡ·ඩු·ඣ·ක්රු·ඩ්||

³ ක·ඩ·වි·ය·ඩ·වි·ය·ී·රේ·ශ·ය්ද||

⁷ ད·ඩෙස·ඩ·ගන්ශා·මි·රේ·ශී||

⁸ ཝ·ය·ර·රේ·ඩ·මි·ෂ්ලේ·ශී||

¹ May I have your attention, please? Father and uncles!

² Father and uncles are (like) young dragons in the azure sky.

³ (I) ask for light rain.

⁴ (I) ask a favor (of you, my family) only this once.

⁵ Asking a favor repeatedly keeps (it) from being granted.

24

¹ ພ්ඩ·ය·රද·දාර·දාර·ධ්ඩ්ද||

² රද·දාර·දාර·ධ්ඩ·යු·මිෂ·ර්ෂ||

¹ (Let me) praise, praise the white house!

² May there be auspiciousness in the white house!

25

¹ ພ්ඩ·ය·රැස·ශ්ච·ඩු·ඩු·ඩ්ද||

² රැස·ශ්ච·ඩු·ඩු·ඩ්ද||

⁴³ Rma chen Snow Mountain is in Rma chen County, Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon and refers to A myes rma chen Mountain.

¹(Let me) praise, praise the gold table!
²May there be auspiciousness in the gold table!

26

¹ସଞ୍ଜନ୍ଦିଯାସବଳ୍ଲୁକ୍ଷେଷଙ୍ଗନ୍ଦି||
²ସବଳ୍ଲୁକ୍ଷେଷଗ୍ରମିନାଶଣ||

¹(Let me) praise, praise the stove deity!
²May there be auspiciousness in the stove deity!

27

¹ସଞ୍ଜନ୍ଦିଯାଦ୍ସ୍ତ୍ରୀଯାଗାଳ୍ପକ୍ଷେଷଙ୍ଗନ୍ଦି||
²ଦ୍ସ୍ତ୍ରୀଯାଗାଳ୍ପକ୍ଷେଷଗ୍ରମିନାଶଣ||

¹(Let me) praise, praise the central pillar goddess!⁴⁴
²May there be auspiciousness in the central pillar goddess!

28

¹ସଞ୍ଜନ୍ଦିଯାସାରକ୍ଷରଦକ୍ଷେଷଙ୍ଗନ୍ଦି||
²ସାରକ୍ଷରଦକ୍ଷେଷଗ୍ରମିନାଶଣ||

¹(Let me) praise, praise the gold inner door!
²May there be auspiciousness in the gold inner door!

29

¹ସଞ୍ଜନ୍ଦିଯାତ୍ରୀନାସାରଦଶବିଷଙ୍ଗନ୍ଦି||
²ତ୍ରୀନାସାରଦଶବିଷଗ୍ରମିନାଶଣ||

¹(Let me) praise, praise the square gold bed!
²May there be auspiciousness in the square gold bed!

While they sing this song, one woman holds a bottle of liquor and another holds a bowl. They offer liquor to every man, beginning with the girl's closest relative. The men must offer money to the women. The closest relative presents more than others. While the men are offering money, the men exaggerate the amount and also request the women to

⁴⁴ The home deity resides in the central pillar.

sing beautifully and loudly. For example, a man who is offered liquor and presents ten RMB, says that he presented 10,000 RMB and adds that he cannot hear the women and girls' singing, implying that they should sing very loudly. The women offer liquor three times to each man and the men offer money three times. The village females sing the song repeatedly for approximately one and a half hours to accumulate more money.

The Girl's Father Gives Her Tibetan Robes and Ornaments

When the song is about to finish, the girl's parents present all the Tibetan robes and ornaments they prepared for the girl in front of the villagers. Next, the father says that they could not prepare much for their daughter and promises that they will continue to help her in the future. Parents in the early twenty-first century say that they will support their daughters to continue their education, and to become government employees.

After presenting robes and ornaments, the *sngags pa* asks the village females to connect the *skra lung* to the girl's braids. The *skra lung* must be joined to the braids at the girl's front. Normally *skra lung* are connected to the braids behind the girl's back; the hair changing ritual is the only exception. Then, village men and boys ask the females to stop singing and stand up. Sometimes, they forcibly pull the females to stand if they are reluctant to do so. The women count the money and entrust it to a responsible older woman. Later they divide it equally among all the village females.

The helpers invite all the women and girls to the meal room to have a meal of tea, fried bread, steamed stuffed dumplings, steamed buns, and radish soup. Then helpers offer the same food to the village males.

Helpers Make Orations to the *Sngags pa*, Hairdresser, and Village Women, While Presenting Gifts to Them

Songs of reward are sung to village women and the *sngags pa*. After the meal, two men from the *sha nyé* give orations to the *sngags pa*, hairdresser, and the village females,

praising them. The men say that the *sngags pa* did his best in chanting Buddhist scriptures and blessing the girl, the hairdresser did her best in making the girl's hair, and the village females worked very hard to connect the *skra lung* to the girl's braids and to sing the hair song and that therefore, they are all very important for the party. The girl's family thus shows its respect and appreciation.

The two men praise the *sngags pa* by presenting him gifts of two or three tea bricks, one to three bottles of liquor, and a *kha btags*. The two men must praise the *sngags pa* at least once and three times at most. The two men say, "You worked very hard to chant scriptures. The girl's family offered you some tea bricks, *kha btags*, and bottles of liquor. We hope you are very happy with these gifts."

The *sngags pa* replies, "These are not enough because I chanted the scriptures very well in order to bless the girl."

Then the two men present additional gifts of the same sort to him again. They describe the gifts they brought to him this second time, and say, "We hope you will be very happy with these gifts."

The *sngags pa* says, "These are not enough to make me happy," and then the two men bring additional gifts of the same sort again. This time he expresses his happiness by saying, "I am very happy with these gifts so you helpers must sing *mgur*⁴⁵ for my happiness." Then the helpers select three or four men to sing *mgur* to the *sngags pa*, one after another.

After a while, the *sngags pa* returns all that he has been given except for one *kha btags*.

Next, the two men praise the hairdresser by presenting gifts to her. This shows their respect and appreciation for her hard work in dressing the girl's hair and teaching the hair song to other females. The gifts may be tea bricks, *kha btags*, and around five RMB. She expresses her happiness after receiving the gifts and later returns them all except a *kha btags*.

Then the two men praise the village females by

⁴⁵ *Mgur* are reward songs sung for females, the *sngags pa*, and the *A zhang zhang bo*. One song can be sung to all three, but the name in the song changes. *Mgur* have elsewhere been called 'songs of spiritual realization' (Sujata 2005).

presenting gifts. The two men must give an oration to the older women sitting at the head of the double rows. They tell them that they worked very hard to connect the *skra lung* to the girl's braids and sang the beautiful hair song. Therefore the two men must praise the village females and try their best to delight them. They must present gifts to the village females one to three times. They offer three to five tea bricks, one or two *kha btags*, and around fifty RMB. The two men say, "You females worked very hard connecting the *skra lung* to the girl's braids. Here are some tea bricks, cash, and *kha btags*. We hope you will be happy with these gifts."

Then an older woman, on behalf of all the females, replies, "All the females really worked very hard and these gifts cannot make all the *ma sru* happy. We will be happy if you bring robe cloth from inner China with beautiful patterns and *phrug* from India."

Then the two men bring more gifts of tea bricks, cash, and *kha btags*. They describe what gifts they have brought this time and say, "We really haven't got what you asked for, but these gifts will make you happy."

The same woman who spoke initially, replies almost exactly as before.

Then the two men bring the same sort of gifts again. They describe the gifts and say, "We hope you females will now be very happy with these gifts."

The woman says, "All the *ma sru* are very happy with these gifts. The helpers must sing *mgur* just like summer rain as a reward for this happiness."

The two men then ask three to five young men to sing *mgur* for the females. After singing *mgur*, the women return all the gifts. Finally, villagers who are not in the *sha nyé* group leave for their homes.

The *sngags pa* and the village females are presented gifts three times at most. They are presented the gifts until they say they are satisfied. For example, the *sngags pa* might express satisfaction after only one round of gifts or, if not, he must express satisfaction after the third round of gifts. The same is true for the village women; it is considered very important that they express happiness after the third round of gifts. It is unthinkable that they would express dissatisfaction after the third round.

THE EVENING PARTY

Welcoming the Maternal Relatives and Offering Food

All maternal relatives first gather at the *A zhang zhang bo's* home. The *A zhang zhang bo* prepares pork noodles and (usually) Huzhu liquor. The male *A zhang* drink liquor. They come to the party by motorcycle if they are from another village. Other maternal relatives also may join an *A zhang* group on the way to the girl's home. For example, if the *A zhang zhang bo* and most *A zhang* are from Village A, and another *A zhang* is from Village B, it may be troublesome for this *A zhang* to go to Village A and then go to the party in Village C. Consequently, this *A zhang* may wait near Village C and join the large *A zhang* group. Some *A zhang* may choose to come individually, but the *A zhang zhang bo* must come with other *A zhang*.

At the girl's home, the *sha nye* busily arrange seating and food for the guests. Six young men from the *sha nye* are appointed to take *chang bsu* (welcome liquor) to the *A zhang* at the *ston gros*. *Sha nye* must take *chang bsu* three times. Two young men of the *sha nye* take a bottle of liquor, a *kha btags*, and a drinking bowl. A small amount of wool is tied around the bottle neck, and three bits of butter are stuck around the bowl lip. The two men dress in Tibetan robes and take these three items to the village border (if the *A zhang* are from another village) and wait. When they meet the *A zhang*, two of them say, "How are all of you?" or "Happy Lo sar!"

The *A zhang* reply "Very good!" or "Happy Lo sar!" Then one of the two must give the *kha btags* to the *A zhang zhang bo*, and offer him the first bowl of liquor. Then they offer liquor to everyone in the *A zhang* group (including children), beginning with the closest relatives and oldest ones. They must offer the *A zhang* liquor repeatedly in the hope that they will drink as much as possible. After offering liquor to everyone, the two young men run back to the girl's home, otherwise the *A zhang* will offer them liquor. This is the first *chang bsu*. If the *A zhang zhang bo* is from the girl's own village, then this ritual occurs about fifty meters from the *A zhang zhang bo's* home.

Two more young men from the *sha nye* must take the

second *chang bsu* to the *A zhang* about a hundred meters from the first one. They take the same items as just described and give the same greeting. They ask the *A zhang zhang bo* whom they should give the *kha btags* to. The *A zhang zhang bo* points to the second most important *A zhang*, who is usually another of the girl's mother's brothers. The two young men give the *kha btags* to him, and offer him a bowl of liquor. The two then offer liquor to everyone as described above. Then they also flee, hoping to avoid the *A zhang* offering them liquor.

Another two young men take the third *chang bsu* to the *A zhang* about a hundred meters from the girl's home as just described. The two ask the *A zhang zhang bo* whom the third *kha btags* should be given to. The *A zhang zhang bo* recommends the third most important *A zhang*, who is usually another of the girl's mother's brothers, uncles, or brothers-in-law. After presenting a *kha btags* to the designated person, they offer liquor and escape as previously described. If the two young men cannot escape, then they must drink whatever the *A zhang* tell them to. The six young men must bring the bowl and bottle safely back to the girl's home. When the *A zhang* come through the girl's village, villagers come out to see how the *A zhang* are dressed, and how many there are.

The *bag ma* offers liquor to all the *A zhang* outside her home's courtyard gate. She first offers a *kha btags* to the *A zhang zhang bo*, and then offers liquor to everyone from the most important to least important. Another young man from the *sha nye* helps her pour liquor into the bowl. While she offers liquor, the *A zhang* give money to her (usually around five RMB each). After offering liquor to the *A zhang*, the *sha nye* welcome them to the meal room.

Two male helpers are responsible for inviting the guests to the meal room, while others offer tea and the foods described above. Then rice cooked with butter, sugar, *gro ma*, and raisins is served. The helpers repeatedly offer these foods. After the meal, the *sha nye* leader leads them to the party room, where they sit in the center double rows.

Welcoming Paternal Relatives and Friends and Offering Food

The '*grul ba*' and family friends are the second group of guests to arrive. They come to the party individually, and receive no special welcome. There is no order of who comes first and who comes second; all arrive before dark. It is also acceptable for them to arrive before the *A zhang*. When they arrive, helpers offer them the same food and drinks that the *A zhang* are served. After the meal, the *sha nyé* leader leads them to the party room, where they sit in the appointed double rows, next to the *A zhang*'s row.

Welcoming Villagers and Offering Food

Villagers come individually to the party with family and friends and receive no special welcome. When they arrive, the helpers take them all to the meal room despite their refusals, where they are served tea and food. After the meal, the villagers are asked to sit at their appointed double rows by helpers.

THE NIGHT PARTY

Offering Liquor and Cigarettes to the Guests

All guests sit in the party room in their designated double rows. Helpers offer liquor and cigarettes. The *chang ma* stay in their assigned double rows all night and cannot be absent as long as guests are present. These young men must offer as much liquor to the guests as they will drink. *Chang ma* are thought to have done an excellent job if the guests they serve become drunk. They offer liquor to the guests every three to five minutes.

A Helper Sings an Opening Song After Making an Oration

About a half hour after guests are seated, an adult man from the *sha nyé* makes an oration to begin the party. He says that this family (he mentions by name the girl's parents and grandparents if they are living) tried their best to hold the hair changing ritual for their girl (he mentions her name), and the family prepared much food, liquor, beer, and cigarettes for all of the guests and he hopes that they will enjoy the party. He also says a singer (he mentions his name) will sing an opening song. While he speaks, a box containing a bottle of liquor must be in front of him and he should stand at the end of the *A zhang*'s double row of seating.

Shortly after the opening oration, a young man from the *sha nyé* who is considered to have a good voice sings an opening song. While this man sings, he should go to the *A zhang*'s double rows and offer liquor to the *A zhang* one by one starting with the *A zhang zhang bo*. They do not have to drink or they may drink a little; they also may offer *mchod kha*.⁴⁶ This song, which must be a *dmangs glu* (Tibetan traditional song),⁴⁷ is the first song at the party, and no one can sing before him. While singing, the singer bends down and offers liquor in a bowl with both hands, and is expected to have a happy expression. Next, more people from among the *A zhang*, *'grul ba*, and villagers sing. They may go to any double row of seating while singing and sing both traditional and modern songs.

Guests Present Gifts to the Girl

At around eleven p.m., the *sha nyé* leader brings a piece of felt, places it at the end of the *A zhang*'s double row of seating, and makes a Buddhist swastika on it with grain. A man from the *sha nyé* announces that the *A zhang* will present gifts. Singing stops while guests present gifts. Gifts are cash (fifteen to 800 RMB), clothes, quilts, cloth for

⁴⁶ When offered a bowl of liquor, the recipient dips their ring finger in the bowl and flicks it skyward three times.

⁴⁷ *Dmangs glu* is a traditional Tibetan song sung at such gatherings as hair changing parties and weddings.

robes, and *kha btags*. The *bag ma* waits in another room then, after entering the party room, she stands at the edge of the white felt, and faces the *A zhang* with her family members. Before the *A zhang* present gifts, the *bag ma* prostrates to the *A zhang* on the felt. The *A zhang zhang bo* approaches the girl to present his gifts and is the first to offer gifts. He gives an oration expressing joy that the family respected him by giving him a warm invitation and welcome before he announces what gifts he has brought. He explains that he did not bring many gifts, but that this is not because he is stingy. Other *A zhang* present their gifts in turn and need not present gifts themselves; if they are shy or they do not know what to say, they ask another *A zhang* to present their gifts. For example, a twelve-year-old maternal cousin of the girl may be too shy to speak publicly and may ask another *A zhang* to present his gifts on his behalf. After all the *A zhang* finish presenting gifts, the felt on which the gifts are piled is moved to the end of the '*grul ba*'s double row of seating. Paternal relatives and the friends of the family present their gifts. Close relatives present gifts first.

Villagers present gifts after the '*grul ba*', which are mostly cash (around fifteen RMB). Their gifts are of less value than other guests. The family asks someone to record the gifts that guests brought in a notebook.

Guests are Offered Food

After the completion of gift-giving, the helpers serve another meal to all the guests. The *A zhang* are served first. The two males responsible for welcoming guests to the meal room invite all the *A zhang* to the meal room, where other helpers enthusiastically offer tea and food. After the *A zhang* are satisfied, they return to the party room. They are followed by separate groups of the '*grul ba*', older village men, young village men, older village women, and young village women and children.

Guests eat and drink as much as they like. It is acceptable to not finish the food in a bowl, although most guests do not leave food in their bowls, except for drunken men and children. After the meal, guests return to enjoy the songs, liquor, and beer.

Two Helpers Make an Oration to the *A zhang* and Present Gifts Three Times

About a half an hour after guests have the second meal, the two men from the *sha nye* who made the oration to the *sngags pa*, hairdresser, and the village women earlier, now give an oration to the *A zhang zhang bo*. There are three rounds of oration while presenting gifts that express how much the family appreciates the *A zhang*, and especially, the *A zhang zhang bo*, attending the party. The two men give three orations. They approach the *A zhang zhang bo* with about 300 RMB, two or three pieces of white felt, and *kha btags*; put these gifts on the table in front of the *A zhang zhang bo*; and say, "The family actually should present a horse to you, the *A zhang zhang bo*, but they cannot prepare one because of their poor condition. We hope these gifts will satisfy you and make you happy."

The *A zhang zhang bo* might reply that he is satisfied and happy, or he might say that the gifts are inadequate. If he says that he is happy, then he asks for reward songs, which the helpers sing. If he says the gifts are inadequate, the two men must bring more such gifts as were just offered and give another oration. If gifts are presented a third time, the *A zhang zhang bo* must express satisfaction. If the family or the helpers have offended the *A zhang zhang bo*, he says that the gifts make him unhappy, he will require many gifts, and asks why the family and the helpers offended him. For example, he might be upset if helpers bring *chang bsu* but forget to bring *kha btags*. Subsequently, he is unhappy, asks for many gifts, and demands to know why the family and the helpers did not bring *kha btags*. The *A zhang zhang bo*'s anger is called *khong*, a term which only applies to the *A zhang zhang bo*'s anger and cannot be used in other contexts.

The second oration is about the family's obligation to present a *mdzo*⁴⁸ to the *A zhang zhang bo*. The two men must bring the sort of gifts described above and talk to him as described above. The *A zhang zhang bo* must express satisfaction at least after the third round of gifts, though he may express satisfaction after one or two rounds of gifts.

The third oration states that the family should present a

⁴⁸ A yak-cow hybrid.

sheep to the *A zhang zhang bo*. The two men talk and present the same sort of gifts as described above.

Villagers Sing Songs of Reward for the *A zhang*'s Happiness, and the Two Helpers Make Orations to the Other Guests and Present Gifts

When the *A zhang zhang bo* says he is satisfied with the gifts each of the three times, three to four male helpers sing *mgur*. Afterwards, they present such gifts as cash (about ten RMB) and *kha btags* to all the *A zhang* and *'grul ba*. These gifts also must be presented for those who did not attend but sent gifts, e.g., if one of the girl's aunts did not attend, she might have asked one of her brothers to take her gifts. Therefore, the two men present the girl's family's gift to the aunt's brother.

The *A zhang* and *'grul ba* Return the Gifts

A half hour later, the *A zhang zhang bo* asks the two men who present the gifts, the *bag ma*, and all her family members to come to the end of the double rows. He says, "I'm very happy with the family's appreciation in presenting gifts but I won't accept them because I didn't bring many gifts for the girl, so I would like to return all the gifts except a *kha btags*." Afterwards, all the *A zhang* and *'grul ba* return the gifts they received to the family, each keeping only a *kha btags*.

More Songs

Guests enjoy Tibetan traditional and modern songs, liquor, and beer again after this. The *chang ma* continue to persistently offer liquor and beer to the guests. By this time, most male guests are drunk.

Villagers and Guests Leave

Around three a.m., villagers and '*grul ba*' leave one by one. The helpers ask them to stay a little longer. Certain helpers sincerely want the villagers and '*grul ba*' to stay, and lock the courtyard gate outside the home. Meanwhile, some *A zhang* and '*grul ba*' go to relatives and friends' homes to sleep.

Offering Food at Daybreak

Only about thirty *A zhang*, '*grul ba*', and village men continue to drink together at daybreak. They sit in one double row of seating together without order. *Chang ma* continue serving liquor, cigarettes, and beer. Helpers cook boiled stuffed dumplings and serve them all. This is the last meal. Afterwards, villagers and '*grul ba*' leave. A *bag ma* family member asks *A zhang* who have slept at relatives or friends' homes to come to their home where they serve them boiled stuffed dumplings.

SEEING THE MATERNAL RELATIVES OFF

The family and helpers next see off the *A zhang*. Before they exit the courtyard gate, helpers offer three small bowls of liquor to each. This is called *sgo chang* (gate liquor).

The helpers and family give five to ten bottles of liquor to the *A zhang* in front of the courtyard gate to drink on their way home. The *A zhang* first refuse to take them, but the helpers and family offer them repeatedly and at last, they take two or three bottles of liquor. This is called *bro chang* (liquor provisions). Then all the helpers and the family escort them about 300 meters away from the home.

THE GIRL'S FAMILY OFFERS LIQUOR, CIGARETTES, AND FOOD TO THE HELPERS

Helpers did not eat or drink much during the ceremony and have worked hard to make the party successful by being attentive to the guests' needs. For these reasons, the family

offers a small banquet to all the helpers after the *A zhang* leave. This is called *rdul sprugs* (dust cleaning). Just after the *A zhang* leave, the *sha nyé* return all the remaining food, cigarettes, liquor, and beer to the family and clean the pots, bowls, dishes, and basins used at the party. The name for the small banquet derives from this. After 2000, the *sha nyé* only returned the leftovers to the family and did not clean such items as mentioned above. A family member must go to every *sha nyé* member's home to invite them to the banquet. The *sha nyé* are served boiled pork, steamed stuffed dumplings, radish soup, steamed buns, fried bread, and tea by family members and their close village relatives. Then they are offered liquor, beer, and cigarettes repeatedly. They drink from morning till afternoon. After drinking enough liquor and beer, they leave for their homes, signaling the end of the hair changing ritual.

PART THREE

DPAL MO MTSHO'S SKRA STON

INTRODUCTION

Dpal mo mtsho was thirteen in 2007⁴⁹ and her parents decided to hold the hair changing ritual for her on the fifth day of the first lunar month of 2007. During the eleventh lunar month of 2006, Dpal mo 'tsho's father Rdo rje bkra shis, visited Dpal chen⁵⁰ (b. 1940), a village *sngags pa*, to ask him to divine an appropriate day for the ceremony. He performed the divination using his prayer beads. Choosing an auspicious date for the ritual is important to avoid fighting, breaking plates, cups, and bowls, and sickness.

INVITATIONS

After Dpal chen chose the day for the ceremony, Rdo rje bkra shis went to every relative's home and invited them to the coming ritual. He invited thirty-nine relatives from Dpal mo mtsho's mother's side, who are listed in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Maternal relatives.⁵¹

Name	Birth Year	Relationship to Dpal mo mtsho
Don 'grub	1945	MB
Phag mo tshe ring	1949	MB
Phun go	1965	MB
Lha rgyal skyid	1952	MS
Phag mo	1954	MS
Skal bzang mtsho	1962	MS

⁴⁹ Many Tibetans increase their age by one year at the start of every new lunar year. For example, a baby born on the last day of the twelfth lunar month is considered two years old the next day.

⁵⁰ Dpal chen was a monk before the Cultural Revolution. He is now a *sngags pa* living in Brag dmar nang Tibetan Village.

⁵¹ Here and in the following tables, M = mother, F = father, S = sister, B = brother, Z = son, D = daughter, W = wife, and H = husband. Kin diagrams for all maternal and paternal relatives who attend Dpal mo mtsho's Skra ston can be downloaded from: <http://www.archive.org/details/TsheDpalRdoRjeEtAl-ATibetanGirlsHairChangingRitual-KinDiagrams>.

Name	Birth Year	Relationship to Dpal mo mtsho
Rdo rje	1935	MFSH
Lha phyug	1963	MFSZ
Pad lcags	1954	MFSDH
Skal bzang	1977	MBS
Rnam rgyal	1972	MFSDZ
Rdo rje lhun 'grub	1952	MFSZ
Tshe ring rdo rje	1956	MFSZ
Dge 'dun sgrol ma	1971	MBD
Dge 'dun sgrol ma	1983	MSD
Kun bzang	1973	MBD
Don 'grub rgya mtsho	1980	MSZ
Lha mo skyid	1952	MMBD
Rab brtan	1958	MFSZ
Tshe ring rgyal	1965	MFSZ
G.yang mo	1948	MBWS
Tshe ring dbang rgyal	1976	MBWSZ
Rig 'dzin sgrol ma	1961	MFSD
Chos mo mtsho	1975	MFSD
Dkar drus ma	1977	MFSD
'jam dbyangs dpal ldan	1969	MMBDZ
Dpal chen rdo rje	1974	MMBDZ
Byams skyid	1974	MMBZD
Phag mo tshe ring	1943	MMBZ
Don 'grub	1948	MMBZ
Bsod nams	1943	MMFFSZ
Rdo rje sgrol ma	1952	MFSD
Tshe 'phel	1947	MBWF
Mgon po	1945	?

The *A zhang* were also invited. Dpal mo mtsho's mother has three brothers as shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4. Sgrol ma mtsho's brothers.

Name	Birth Year	Relationship
Don 'grub	1945	MB
Phag mo tshe ring	1949	MB
Phun go	1965	MB

The order of importance of the *A zhang* at the ritual was as follows: Phag mo tshe ring (his son, Dngos grub, attended, representing him) was the *A zhang zhang bo*. The two other maternal uncles were the next important people, followed by Sgrol ma mtsho's sisters. Other *A zhang* had equal positions of importance.

Dpal mo mtsho's three maternal uncles had taken turns at being the *A zhang zhang bo* for their sisters' three daughters' hair changing rituals. When the *bag ma*'s father invited the *A zhang zhang bo*, who is Dpal mo mtsho's mother's brother and her middle maternal uncle, he brought a bottle of liquor and a *kha btags* as a sign of his being the *A zhang zhang bo* at Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ritual. He also brought a second bottle of liquor and *kha btags* to him, because Dpal mo mtsho's family asked him not to bring a Tibetan robe for Dpal mo mtsho and therefore, avoided needing to present a horse to him. Dpal mo mtsho's father did not offer gifts to any other relatives during the process of invitation. He began inviting other relatives on the fifteenth of the twelfth lunar month and continued inviting to the twenty-second day.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At the ceremony, Dpal mo mtsho was required to wear Tibetan robes and ornaments. Her parents prepared three Tibetan robes and four kinds of ornaments for her; they could only afford *phrug* made in Sku 'bum. Dpal mo mtsho's parents asked a village tailor (Bkra shis, b. 1953), to make the *phrug* robe without otter skin trim for which he charged 280 RMB. A second robe for Dpal mo mtsho was made of lambskin for which Dpal mo mtsho's parents bought

forty-five lambskins in Zi ling. One lambskin cost thirty RMB. Dpal mo mtsho's parents asked the same tailor to make the lambskin robe and paid him 300 RMB. Dpal mo mtsho's parents had another lambskin robe that was also presented to Dpal mo mtsho at her hair changing ceremony.

Dpal mo mtsho's mother's sister, Phag mo, is skilled at making the upper part of the *skra lung*, and especially at embroidering sunflowers. She made the upper part of the two *skra lung* for free. The silver panels with engraved images of sea treasures were made by Zhang, a Han silversmith from neighboring Jiedao Village. One pair of *skra lung* requires eight silver panels with engraved sea treasure images. Zhang made two *skra lung* with a total of sixteen panels and a pair of silver earrings for Dpal mo mtsho that cost 300 RMB in total.

HELPERS AND DISCUSSION OF LABOR DIVISION

Dpal mo mtsho's father invited thirty families from the family's *sha nye* on the morning of the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth lunar month in 2006. That night, one person from each of twenty-six households⁵² had come to Dpal mo mtsho's home for *ston gros* by about eight p.m. Dpal mo mtsho's parents and brothers offered tea, steamed buns, fried bread, and cigarettes to them. About thirty minutes later, they began discussing work assignments. An hour later, the assignments detailed below had been made:

⁵² Four households did not attend but were assigned duties. Four or five of the total twenty-six who attended were female.

Figure 5. The *sha nyel* and their roles.

Name	Born	Assigned Duty	Comment
Rta mgrin rdo rje	1965	<i>ja dpon</i>	experienced at work assignments and with hair changing rituals
Phag mo	1949	<i>ja dpon</i>	experienced at work assignments and with hair changing rituals
Mkhas grub	1980	<i>chang ma</i>	young and a good singer
Rta mgrin dbang rgyal	1975	<i>chang ma</i>	young and a good singer
'Jam dpal rdo rje	1977	<i>chang ma</i>	young and good at drinking liquor
Bun phreng rdo rje	1976	<i>chang ma</i>	young and talkative
Jigs byed	1976	<i>chang ma</i>	young and good at drinking liquor
Mkha' gro	1978	<i>chang ma</i>	young and talkative
Bkra shis don 'grub	1967	invite guests to the meal room	responsible and hospitable
Don 'grub	1962	invite guests to the meal room	responsible and hospitable
Bstan 'dzin	1953	cook	experienced cook
Rab brtan	1958	cook	experienced cook
Don 'grub	1957	cook	experienced cook
Phag mo tshe ring	1955	chat with guests	much experience in hair ritual parties and talkative.

Name	Born	Assigned Duty	Comment
'jam dbyang dpal Idan	1969	chat with guests	much experience in hair ritual parties and talkative
Rdo rje bkra shis	1987	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working
Pad ma tshe ring	1985	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working
Rdo rje lhun grub	1988	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working
Pad ma tshe ring	1987	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young, hard working, and obedient
Phyag rdor skyid	1963	take care of the fire in the stove	experienced with such work
Kun bzang	1970	tend the cooking fires	experienced with such work
Ye shes sgrol ma	1964	wash pots, plates, cups, and so on	such work is always recognized as female work
Tshe ring sgrol ma	1966	wash pots, plates, cups, and so on	such work is always recognized as female work
Rin chen skyid	1961	wash pots, plates, cups, and so on	such work is always recognized as female work
Lha sgron	1961	wash pots, plates, cups, and so on	such work is always recognized as female work
'brug mo	1972	wash pots, plates, cups, and so on	such work is always recognized as female work

Name	Born	Assigned Duty	Comment
'jam dbyang dpal Idan	1969	chat with guests	much experience with hair ritual parties and talkative
Rdo rje bkra shis	1987	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working
Pad ma tshe ring	1985	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working
Rdo rje lhun grub	1988	take food from the kitchen to the meal room	young and hard working

Rta mgrin rdo rje and Phag mo were chosen as *ja dpon* with the duty of taking care of the food, liquor, and cigarettes, and to check who was absent during work time and to encourage those present to work seriously. Mkhas grub, Rta mgrin dbang rgyal, 'jam dpal rdo rje, Mkha' 'gro, Bun phreng rdo rje, and 'jigs byed were chosen to be *chang ma* and also given the responsibility of taking *chang bsu* to the *A zhang*. Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub were responsible for inviting all the guests to the meal room. Bstan 'dzin, Rab brtan, and Don 'grub cooked pork, radish soup, and two dishes. One dish was celery, beef, and potato noodles; the other was beef and chili pepper.

Phag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyang dpal ldan were assigned to give orations to the *sngags pa*, hairdresser, and village females in the morning, and the *A zhang* during the night party.

Rdo rje bkra shis, Pad ma tshe ring, Rdo rje lhun grub, and Pad ma tshe ring were assigned to take the food from the kitchen to the meal room and from the meal room back to the kitchen.

Phyag rdor skyid and Kun bzang were given the job of tending the cooking fires.

Ye shes sgrol ma, Tshe ring sgrol ma, Rin chen skyid, Lha sgron, and 'brug mo were responsible for washing pots, plates, cups, and so on.

The two leaders announced that the assigned tasks were only for the party day and that Dpal mo mtsho's family had the right to call on anyone from the *sha nye* to help before and during preparation time. The four people who did not come to the *ston gros* were given the responsibility of helping others when they needed assistance.

Dpal mo mtsho's family offered boiled pork, noodles, and tea to everyone after the discussion. Guests were offered Huzhu tequ liquor by Dpal mo mtsho's father and brother after they had stopped eating. Males less than eighteen years old and all females refused to drink, but the others drank until two in the morning.

PREPARATIONS

Food

On the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth lunar month, 2006, Dpal mo mtsho's mother, father, and Tshe ring rdo rje fried bread with the assistance of Phyag rdor skyid, Kun bzang, and Lha sgron. On the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth lunar month, 2006, the girl's mother, Phyag rdor skyid, Kun bzang, Lha sgron, and Skal dbang made steamed buns. The mother, Phyag rdor skyid, Kun bzang, Lha sgron, Skal dbang, Rin chen, 'brug mo, Tshe ring sgrol ma, and Byams skyid made steamed stuffed dumplings on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth lunar month, and made boiled stuffed dumplings on the fourth day of the first lunar month. Phag mo cooked a large amount of rice with added butter, sugar, *gro ma*, and raisins. Bstan 'dzin boiled pork on the same day.⁵³

At about six p.m. of the party day, Bstan 'dzin cooked a dish of celery, beef, and potato starch noodles, and another of beef and chili pepper.

Bstan 'dzin, Don 'grub, Rab brtan, Phyag rdor skyid, and Lha sgron cooked radish soup for villagers at ten a.m. on the party day and for the guests at nine p.m. the same day.

Tea was made by helpers throughout the ceremony, whenever it appeared to be running out.

Food made before the party day was heated at meal times. Boiled stuffed dumplings were cooked at daybreak the morning after the night party.

Drinks and Cigarettes

Dpal mo mtsho's parents went to Khri ka County Town on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, 2006, and bought sixty bundles of Yellow River beer,⁵⁴ thirty-six bottles of Yiping Huzhu liquor, and 200 packages of Jinxue chang cigarettes (twenty cartons).⁵⁵ These drinks and

⁵³ Salt and prickly ash were added to the water.

⁵⁴ There were nine bottles per bundle.

⁵⁵ The total cost was 1,873 RMB.

cigarettes were offered at *ston gros, ma sru mgo 'dus*, and during the party.

Other Snacks

Liquor, cigarettes, peanuts, sunflower seeds, apples, and candies were offered at the party. Peanuts and sunflower seeds were in particular abundance. Dpal mo mtsho's parents bought twenty kilograms of peanuts, twenty kilograms of sunflower seeds, fifty kilograms of apples, and fifteen kilograms of candy.⁵⁶ These were only offered at the party to the guests.

Arranging Dpal mo mtsho's Hair

Phyag rdor skyid was the hairdresser because her father-in-law⁵⁷ and Dpal mo mtsho's paternal grandfather⁵⁸ were brothers, and because they live separate from Dpal mo mtsho's family. Dpal mo mtsho's hair had to be dressed by a woman from her family and Phyag rdor skyid was the only one in her family able to do so. Phyag rdor skyid asked Phag mo sgrol ma to help. They made Dpal mo mtsho's hair into nineteen small braids with a wooden comb that Dpal mo mtsho's mother had bought in Khri ka County Town. They also used *zar chu* that Dpal mo mtsho's mother had made two days earlier as hair oil.

⁵⁶ These items cost 765 RMB in total.

⁵⁷ Bdud 'dul rdo rje (1933-2004).

⁵⁸ Dkon mchog don grub (1934-1996).

GUESTS

Maternal Relatives

Dpal mo mtsho's mother is originally from Mes nyag yar ka Village, Sde tsha Township, Dpa' lung County, and three of her brothers and two of her sisters still live there. She and her oldest sister both married into Brag dmar nang Village. Thirty-nine of her relatives were invited to Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ritual, as listed earlier.

Paternal Relatives

Dpal mo mtsho's father is a Brag dmar nang native. He has six sisters, as shown in Figure 6:

Figure 6. Rdo rje bkra shis' sisters (Dpal mo mtsho's paternal aunts).

Name	Born	Residence	Attendees
Tshe ring lha mo	1955	Rtsa rin mo Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County	Tshe ring lha mo's son
Rdo rje mtsho	1957	Nus lung Village, Dkar brjid Township	Rdo rje mtsho
Dngos grub mtsho	1959	Rta thang County, Zi ling City	Dngos grub mtsho and her husband
Sgrol ma	1962	Tsha nag Village, Mgo mang Township, Kos nan County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Sgrol ma
Klu mo	1965	Rtsa rin mo Village, Dkar brjid Township	Klu mo
Lha mo ri	1967	Ra gong ma Village, Dun pa Township, Gong ho County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Lha mo ri and her husband

Rdo rje bkra shis has relatives in Gong ho, Kos nan, and Khri ka counties in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and Dpa' lung County in Mtsho shar Region. Forty-five of Rdo rje bkra shis' relatives were invited and attended the party, as shown in Figure 7 (F = father, S = sister, B = brother, W = wife, Z = son, D = daughter, H = husband).

Figure 7. Paternal relatives.

Name	Birth Year	Relationship
Tshe ring lha mo	1955	FS
Rdo rje mtsho	1957	FS
Dngos grub mtsho	1959	FS
Sgrol ma	1962	FS
Klu mo	1965	FS
Lha mo ris	1967	FS
Chos skyong	1936	FFBW
Lha mo tshe ring	1985	FSD
Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma	1987	FSD
Dkon mchog mtsho	1977	FD
Rig grol	1939	FMSH
Tshe dbang sgrol ma	1972	FMSD
Lha mo	1975	FMSD
Phag mo	1949	FFMDS
Bstan 'dzin	1955	FFMBDZ
Rdo rje dpal	1958	FFMBDZ
Skal bzang nyi ma	1962	FFMBDZ
Bun phreng	1940	FFMSD
Sangs rgyas	1962	FFMSDZ
Rdo rje mtsho	1943	FFMSD
Phag mo tshe ring	1955	FFMSZ
Lha byams	1953	FFMSZ
Gsang bdag	1948	FFMSDH
Sri thar	1947	FFMSDH
G.yang 'bum	1959	FFMSDH
Rdo rje skyid	1945	FFMSD
Tshe thar	1943	FFMSD
Bkra shis don 'grub	1967	FFMSDZ
Gu ru	1964	FFMSDZ
'jam dpal	1965	FFMSDZ

Name	Birth Year	Relationship
Gu ru bsod nams	1963	FFMSDZ
Phag mo	1942	FMMSD
Rta mgrin rdo rje	1965	FMMSDZ
Bde skyid	1969	FMMSDD
Skar ma	1975	FMMSDD
Dpal ldan	1962	FMMSDZ
Ban de	1958	FMMSDZ
Byams pa	1968	FMMSDZ
Phag mo mtsho	1954	FMMSDD
Shes rab mtsho	1967	FMMSDD
Rta mgrin mtsho	1935	FMMSD
Nor bu mtsho mo	1974	FMMSDD
Lha mo tshe ring	1977	FMMSDDD
Lha mo sgrol ma	1980	FMMSDDD
Kun bzang rdo rje	1978	FMMSDDZ

Friends

Two of the *bag ma's* father's Han Chinese friends, one of Tshe dpal rdo rje's friends, and two of his teachers were invited and attended the party as shown in Figure 8:

Figure 8. Five family friends.

Name	Born	Relationship
Li Fasheng	1951	father's friend
Shenbao	1952	father's friend
CK Stuart	1955	English teacher
Solomon Rino	1973	English teacher
Chos skyong	1983	Tshe dpal rdo rje's friend

Villagers

Every village household must be invited to the party. The girl's father invited all fifty households (240 people) in the village and forty-six households (about 180 people) attended.

SEATING ARRANGEMENT

Since many guests were invited,⁵⁹ the helpers made six double rows in the party room. Every *sha nye* brought two pieces of felt and a table. The *A zhang*'s double row was provided with the more attractive and higher quality pieces of felt and the best table.

Only two double rows were used at *ma sru mgo 'dus*. The left side of the row of seating was for Lhun grub (b. 1940), a *sngags pa*, guests, and older village men. The next row of seating was for young village men.

THE NIGHT BEFORE THE PARTY: DPAL MO MTSHO AND THE VILLAGE CHILDREN INVITED ALL THE VILLAGE FAMILIES

At about five p.m. on the fourth day of the first lunar month, Lhun grub (the *sngags pa*) was invited to chant *Lha mo bskang ba*. About twenty-five children (aged six to fourteen) gathered at Dpal mo mtsho's home. Dpal mo mtsho's mother, Phyag rdor skyid, and Phag mo sgrol ma dressed her in a lambskin robe and ornaments. Then she left with twenty-five children to invite all the village households to *ma sru mgo 'dus* the next morning. Before they left, the *sngags pa* chose an auspicious time by divination with his prayer beads, and informed the children. The children said, "All your family members come to *ma sru mgo 'dus* to have a bowl of tea," when they reached each village home. Lhun grub chanted *Lha mo bskang ba* in Dpal mo mtsho's home while the children were away.

The children finished visiting all the village households about two hours later, and returned to Dpal mo mtsho's home where they were offered tea, fried bread, steamed stuffed dumplings, and steamed buns. They left for their own homes after they had eaten.

The villagers must be invited twice on the day before the party day. Before the children went to invite all the village households, Rdo rje bkra shis and Rdo rje lhun grub went to invite all the village families for *ma sru mgo 'dus*.

⁵⁹ About 400 people in total attended the party.

VILLAGERS GATHERED ON THE PARTY DAY MORNING

By about seven a.m. on the party day, the helpers had come to Dpal mo mtsho's home, made tea, cleaned the house, washed vegetables, and heated food. Bal ma tshe ring and Pad ma tshe ring went to invite all the village households to *ma sru mgo 'dus* again and returned at about eight-thirty a.m. Villagers began arriving at Dpal mo mtsho's home at around nine a.m. Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub invited them into the meal room. Rab brtan, Dpal chen, Rta mgrin rdo rje, Lha sgron, and Kun bzang offered tea, steamed stuffed dumplings, fried bread, and steamed buns.

Village Females Sang the Hair Changing Song, Lhun grub Chanted, and Males Gave Money to Females

Lhun grub sat at the head of the left double row of seating and chanted Sde brgyad ljags bsngo, Bu mo'i skra 'bebs, and Bkra shis g.yang 'bod. Solomon Rino, CK Stuart, Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (Dpal mo mtsho's older brother who is a monk), and older villagers sat with Lhun grub. *G.yang mda'*,⁶⁰ *rtsam 'bol*,⁶¹ *dril bu*,⁶² a *rdo rje*, and a *Da ru*⁶³ were in front of Lhun grub on a table. Grain had been used to create a Buddhist swastika on a piece of felt behind the table. Clothing and ornaments that Dpal mo mtsho's parents had prepared were placed on this piece of felt. About fifty village females sat crowded around Dpal mo mtsho on the felt. Phyags rdor skyid, the hairdresser, sat behind Dpal mo mtsho, and Skal bzang sgrol ma, the *bag rogs*, sat in front of her. Four girls of Dpal mo mtsho's age sat on both sides.

The village men younger than forty sat on the row of seats to the right of Lhun grub. After he had chanted

⁶⁰ A wooden box of grain in which an arrow wrapped in a *kha btags* is placed. It is thought to bring good luck and fortune.

⁶¹ A bowl of *rtsam pa* on top of which there was a sun, moon, and star made of butter.

⁶² A bell used by monks and *sngags pa*.

⁶³ A small two-faced drum with attached strikers.

scripture for about five minutes, the village females began singing the hair changing song.⁶⁴ Tshe ring skyid held a bag for collecting money while the females sang, Skal dbang held a bottle of liquor, and Rdo rje held a small bowl. They offered liquor to Lhun grub first and asked Rta mgrin rdo rje to give them five RMB. Rta mgrin rdo rje said, "Uncle Sngags pa said that he is very happy that you offered liquor to him, and has five RMB for you. He also said he would contribute more money if you offer him more liquor, and he asked you to sing the hair song clearly and loudly." Then the three women offered liquor to Dpal mo mtsho's father and mother. Each gave ten RMB. After they offered a bowl of liquor to Dpal mo mtsho's uncle and brother, each gave five RMB. Next they offered liquor to the village men from the closest relatives to the least related. They offered liquor three times to all the village males.

Dpal mo mtsho's Father Gave Her Robes and Ornaments

About the time the liquor had been offered to all of the village males, Lhun grub asked the village females to prepare to connect the *skra lung* to Dpal mo mtsho's hair. Her father said:

¹ယာဝေဆာန္တ ²တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ပုံမှန်တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့
သာတဲ့မို့အားလုံးမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ³တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့
⁴တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ⁵တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့
တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ⁶တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့
တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ⁷တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့
တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့ ⁸တံခါးမှုန္တာရန်းများမှာလေ့လာတဲ့

¹Well, excellent! ²Today, a hundred *ma sru* connect *skra lung* to (my) girl's hair. ³Therefore, all my family members are happy. ⁴Please do not say that you will not braid my girl's hair. ⁶⁵ ⁵Here, we have two *glo zung*, two silver *skra lung*,

⁶⁴ The females sang from a text that Tshe dpal rdo rje had transcribed, typed, copied, and given them.

⁶⁵ Village females connect the *skra lung* to the girl's hair.

two lambskin robes, one *phrug* robe, one pair of earrings, and one *gseb rtags* for (my) girl.⁶ If we all could live longer, you won't be all alone.⁷ Here we parents have thirty RMB for the hundred *ma sru*.⁸ And hope all will be satisfied with this offering.

Phyag rdor skyid and Tshe ring sgrol ma connected a pair of *skra lung* to Dpal mo mtsho's hair after this oration while other females continued singing the hair song. The females stood in response to the village males' requests, and Dpal mo mtsho circumambulated a column in the party room with Phyag rdor skyid, Skal bzang sgrol ma, and other children.

Next, the helpers offered radish soup to villagers, while village females counted the money. They announced that they had earned 280 RMB.

All the village females sat in two double rows. The helpers offered them radish soup, fried bread, steamed buns, and tea. The village males were offered the same food in another double row of seating.

Helpers Made an Oration to the *Sngags pa*, Hairdresser, and the Village Women, While Presenting Gifts to Them; and Songs of Reward Were Sung to Village Women

Phag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought ten RMB, four tea bricks, two bottles of liquor, and two *kha btags* to the double row of seating where mostly older women were sitting. 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan presented the *kha btags* to Phag mo skyid and Phag mo, who were the oldest, and also offered a bowl of liquor to all the females in the double row of seating.

Phag mo tshe ring addressed the women sitting at the head of the double row of seating:

during the *ma sru mgo 'dus*, but not until the parents provide her with what they deem to be an adequate number of Tibetan robes and ornaments. The females say that they will not give braids to the girl's family until her parents provide an adequate number of Tibetan robes and ornaments.

¹Today, all the *ma sru* connect *skra lung* to (my) girl's hair. Here are two tea bricks, five RMB, one *kha btags*, and one bottle of liquor for all *ma sru*, and another two tea bricks, five RMB, one *kha btags*, and one bottle of liquor for the hairdresser. ²Hope all *ma sru* will be satisfied with this offering.

Tshe ring skyid replied on behalf of all the *ma sru* and the hairdresser:

¹ या द्वारा कृष्ण ने अपनी शक्ति का उत्तराधिकारी बनाया है। इसका अर्थ है कि जब वह अपनी शक्ति का उत्तराधिकारी बनाया है, तो वह अपनी शक्ति का उत्तराधिकारी बन जाता है।

¹The kindness of the hundred *ma sru* is such that they braided and connected *skra lung* to the girl's hair.

²Therefore, we will be happy only when Chinese silk with different patterns, and Indian *phrug* with different stripes are offered.⁶⁶

Phag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought another five RMB, a tea brick, and one *kha btags* to them. Phag mo tshe ring said:

⁶⁶ *Phrug* is made of alternating panels of dark and light colored fabric.

¹As a rule, it is the hundred *ma sru* who deserve a generous offer, i.e., Chinese silk with different patterns and Indian *phrug* with different colored stripes. However, (we) are indeed unresourceful. ²Therefore, one should say that the hundred *ma sru* shall sound like cuckoos⁶⁷ with the offer of a tea brick, five RMB, and one *kha btags*.

The ring skyid said:

¹You showed us, all *ma sru*, your appreciation again and again. ²The hundred *ma sru* are all happy about this, so please, as a token of your appreciation, sing (*mgur*) just like summer rain in the sixth lunar month.

Tshe ring rdo rje (b. 1984) took *kha btags* in his right hand and sang *mgur* to all the females first:

Song One

1

¹ ଶେଷ-ଦ୍ୱାରା ମୁଣ୍ଡିଲାନ୍ତିରା କଥା ପାଇଲାନ୍ତିରା ।

²ଶ୍ରୀନାନ୍ଦିକ୍ଷଣକୁମାରୀ

¹When the white lion stood proudly on the snow mountain,

²(Its) blue mane was lustrous on the shoulders.

2

¹ ଶୁଣ୍ଟିଷାଦପରିକରଣାର୍ଥମାତ୍ରାହେତୁ

²ରହୁମ'ରୁଷ'ପ୍ର'କ୍ଷ'ପ୍ରୁଣ'ରୁଷ'ଯୁଷ'ଶୀ।

¹When the fiery ferocious tiger glowers in the forest,

²(Its) shiny stripes are fine-looking on its body.

⁶⁷ Figuratively, the hundred *ma sru* shall be satisfied.

¹ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣାହୁର୍ମଦ୍ଵାରା ପ୍ରମୁଖ
²ପାଇଁଯାନ୍ତିର୍ବଳୀର୍ମଦ୍ଵାରା ପ୍ରମୁଖ

- ¹When the aunts, mother, and sisters-in-law sit at the head of the row,
²Their gracious speeches are wonderful.

- ¹This white *kha btags* that I hold,
²It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall
purge the aunts, mothers, and sisters'-in-law spirit of
annoyance.

After he finished singing, he presented the *kha btags* to Phag mo, who presented another *kha btags* to him.

Next, Tshe ring rnam rgyal (b. 1983) sang a reward song to all the females. He held a *kha btags* in his left hand and sang:

Song Two

¹ ଶକ୍ତିଶ୍ଵର-ଶନ୍ତି-ଶ୍ରୀ-ଦୁଷ୍ଟିପାତ୍ରା ।।
² ଶ୍ରୀଶ୍ଵର-ଦ୍ଵାରା-ଦୁଷ୍ଟଶ୍ରୀନାଥ-ଶ୍ରୀ-ଶନ୍ତି-ଶ୍ରୀ ।।
³ ଶ୍ରୀ-ଶ୍ରୀଅମ୍ବା-ଶନ୍ତିଶ୍ଵର-ଶନ୍ତିଶ୍ରୀ ।।

- ¹Amid the azure sky,
²On the felt of white and red clouds,
³The three guests-the sun, moon, and stars-gathered.

¹ ହାତ୍ୟକାନ୍ତିରୁଷିତ୍ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ॥

² ਕੁਝੇ ਹੋਣਾ ਯਾਤਰਾ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਡਾ ਹੈ।

³ହୁରୁଷାମୁଖପଦ୍ମକହାନୀ

- ¹Amid the rocky mountain slopes,
²On felt with patterns of grass, plants, and flowers,
³The guests – horses, yaks, and sheep – gathered.

3

¹କର୍ତ୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟାଦିକୁ
²ଶକ୍ତିଶାନ୍ତିକୁ
³ଦ୍ଵିଜାତୀୟାନ୍ତିକୁ

- ¹Amid the great assembly,
²On the carpet⁶⁸ of meat and liquor,
³Aunts, mothers, and sisters'-in-law voices are mellifluous.

4

- ¹This white *kha btags* I hold,
²It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall
purge the aunts, mothers, and sisters'-in-law spirit of
annoyance.

After the song, the singer presented the *kha btags* to Phagmo, who then presented another *kha btags* to him.

The third person to sing a reward song was 'brug mo. She presented her *kha btags* to Phag mo after her song, and Phag mo presented another *kha btags* to her.

These were the only three *mgur* for all of the females. Then Phag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought a bottle of liquor, a bowl decorated with dragons full of candy and fruits (this is called *kha ba*⁶⁹), two tea bricks, ten RMB, and one *kha btags* to Lhun grub. Pag mo tshe ring said:

⁶⁸ Literally, felt (carpet).

⁶⁹ This special gift is always presented to newly married couples and important people.

¹ ཡ་ད་ଆନ୍ତରିକ ପ୍ରକାଶକ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଲେଖାଯାଇଥାଏ ମହାବାକ ଦର୍ଶକ ମରିଯାନ୍ତିର ସତ୍ୟାଗାରୀ ଲେଖକ
ଦ୍ୱାରା ସିଙ୍ଗ ସତ୍ୟାଗାରୀ ଏବଂ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ହେବାକୁ ।² ଦର୍ଶକ କବିତା ହାତରେ ପାଇଲା ଏବଂ
ଏହାରେ ଜୀବିତ ଅନ୍ଧରେ ପାଇଲା ଏହାରେ ଜୀବିତ ଅନ୍ଧରେ ପାଇଲା ଏହାରେ ଜୀବିତ ଅନ୍ଧରେ ପାଇଲା

¹Well, you *sngags pa* chanted scriptures despite the difficulties and thus starved during the day and were sleepless during the night; ²Here are two tea bricks, a bottle of liquor, a *kha btags*, ten RMB, and a china bowl; we hope these offerings will satisfy you.

Lhun grub replied:

¹You showed your appreciation again and again; therefore I am happy. As a token of your appreciation please sing *mgur* to me.

Tshe ring rdo rje then sang:

Song Three

¹ ཡා-දැ-යා-ෂා-ෂී-ය- ດහු-සා-ස්- ම-දි-ස්-
² ແ-ද- ສූ- ອ- ຢ- ສ- ດ- ວ-
³ ດ- ສ- ຕ- ດ- ດ- ດ- ດ-

¹These yellow *kha btags* that I hold,

²When (this is) taken to the lower area, China,

⁷⁰It is suitable as *dpon dar* for rulers.

⁷⁰ Silk given as a greeting gift to secular rulers.

୧ ଶିଦ୍ଧନ୍ତସାରକଣ୍ଠାନ୍ତରା

² ས୍ଵାକ୍ଷରିତିବନ୍ଦନାତରକା।

³ ཆད·ജാപ്പുദ്ദീർക്ക്·ദശാം·ഓ·ദശാം·ക്രാണ്ട്·ഓ·ക്രാണ്ട്·ഓ·ദ്രൂഡ്·ഓ·വൈദ്·ഓ·മൈഡ്·ഓ·പിരിക്·
ഓ·സുറ്റ്·ഓ·ടൈം

¹When (this is) taken to the upper area, Dbus gtsang,

²It is suitable for *mjal dar*⁷¹ for the lamas.

³It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall purge the *sngags pa*'s spirit of annoyance.

Don 'grub rgya mtsho, 'brug mo, and Tshe ring rnam rgyal sang *mgur* to Lhun grub individually. Ten minutes later, the females returned all the gifts except for the *kha btags*. Phyag rdor skyid also returned all the gifts to Dpal mo mtsho's family. Lhun grub kept only *kha btags* and *kha ba*.

All the villagers except for *sha nyé* members left for their own homes after this.

EVENING OF THE PARTY DAY

Maternal Relatives Were Welcomed and Offered Food

Dpal mo mtsho's middle maternal uncle, Pag mo tshe ring, was ill during the time of Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ceremony. Consequently, his son, Dngos grub, who currently lives with Dpal mo mtsho's uncle, represented him as the *A zhang zhang bo*. At two p.m. on the party day, thirty-two *A zhang* (most from Mes nyag yar ka Village) gathered at Dngos grub's home and five *A zhang* from Brag dmar nang Village joined them on the way to Brag dmar nang Village. Dngos grub's family offered pork, steamed buns, steamed stuffed dumplings, and tea. After the meal, he offered them three bottles of Yiping Huzhu liquor, ten bottles of Yellow River beer, and three packages of Furong cigarettes. After they finished the liquor and beer, they all dressed in Tibetan lambskin robes and *phrug*, except for seven people who

⁷¹ Silk given as a greeting gift to lamas.

wore western-style suits or jackets. They began arriving at the hair changing ritual at around four-thirty p.m. on fourteen motorcycles.

The helpers were busy preparing to take *chang bsu* to the *A zhang*. The helpers chose six young men to take *chang bsu* at *ston gros*. Mkhlas grub and Bun phreng rdo rje took the first *chang bsu*. They took a *kha btags*, a bottle of Yiping Huzhu liquor with wool tied around the bottle neck, and a bowl with three bits of butter stuck on the bowl lip. They went to Sgo kha, which is located just northeast of Brag dmar nang Village at five p.m., and waited for the *A zhang* for a half hour. When they met the *A zhang* both of them said together:

ਅਵਦਾਕਦਾਸਾਨਾਨਾਨਾ

Happy Lo sar to all the *A zhang*!

The *A zhang* replied together:

ਨਾਨਾ ਤ੍ਰਿਲਾਨਾਨਾਨਾਨਾ

Happy Lo sar to the two of you!

Mkhlas grub presented *kha btags* to the *A zhang zhang bo*, Dngos grub, and offered a bowl of liquor to him. Then the two of them offered a bowl of liquor to others in the group. Most drank only a little; females and children only offered *mchod kha*.

Mkhlas grub and Bun phreng rdo rje were unable to escape after they finished offering the liquor. The *A zhang* offered a bowl of liquor to each of them, and they drank it all.

'jam dpal rdo rje and 'jigs byed were the second *chang bsu* takers and waited for the *A zhang* at Ra rgan lung ba (500 meters from Dpal mo mtsho's home) with what was just described. They gave the greetings described above and then 'jigs byed quietly asked the *A zhang zhang bo*, "To whom should I present *kha btags*?"

Dngos grub said, "Don 'grub."⁷² 'jigs byed presented *kha btags* and a bowl of liquor to him. Then they offered liquor to Dpal mo mtsho's two other uncles, aunts, and other relatives in the group. They managed to escape from the *A zhang* after they finished offering liquor.

Rta mgrim dbang rgyal and Mkha' 'gro were the third *chang bsu* takers. They waited for the *A zhang* about one hundred meters from Dpal mo mtsho's home. About sixty villagers gathered there, observing the *A zhang*'s arrival. Rta mgrim dbang rgyal held a *kha btags* and Mkha' 'gro held a bottle of Yiping Huzhu liquor and a bowl as described above. When they met the *A zhang*, they gave greetings as described above. Rta mgrim dbang rgyal quietly asked Dngos grub, "To whom should I present *kha btags*?"

Dngos grub gestured and said, "Phun go."⁷³ Rta mgrim dbang rgyal offered him a *kha btags*, then he took the bowl and offered him liquor. Next, they offered liquor to Dpal mo mtsho's other two uncles and aunts first, and then other relatives in the group.

Dpal mo mtsho stood just outside of her home's gate dressed in a Tibetan lambskin robe, *zhwa mo sna bzhi*, a pair of *skra lung*, a pair of *glo zung*, a pair of earrings, and one *gseb rtags*. She stood among the *sha nye* and her family members, holding a *kha btags* in her right hand and a bowl with three bits of butter stuck on the bowl lip in her left hand, waiting for the *A zhang*. Bun phreng rdo rje held a bottle of Yiping Huzhu liquor with wool tied around the bottleneck and stood next to Dpal mo mtsho.

Dpal mo mtsho and Bun phreng rdo rje approached the *A zhang*. Her two maternal uncles and Dngos grub were the first three in the approaching group. The *sha nye* set off firecrackers to welcome them. Dpal mo mtsho presented *kha btags* to her youngest maternal uncle and offered him a bowl of liquor. Next, she presented *kha btags* to her oldest maternal uncle and offered him a bowl of liquor. Each uncle gave five RMB to Dpal mo mtsho. Then she offered a bowl of liquor to every *A zhang* with Bun phreng rdo rje's help; each *A zhang* gave her approximately three RMB.

The *sha nye* were busily preparing food for the *A zhang*

⁷² The eldest *A zhang*.

⁷³ The youngest *A zhang*.

while Dpal mo mtsho was offering liquor to the *A zhang*. Bstan 'dzin, Rab brtan, and Don 'grub cooked two dishes.

Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub warmly welcomed the *A zhang* into the meal room. Under Rta mgrim rdo rje and Phag mo's direction, the *sha nye* offered tea, fried bread, steamed stuffed dumplings, steamed buns, two dishes, and rice cooked with butter, sugar, *gro ma*, and raisins. Rta mgrim rdo rje, Rab brtan, Skal bzang nyi ma, and Phag mo urged them to eat. Two *sha nye* leaders welcomed the *A zhang* into the party room after the meal.

Paternal Relatives and Friends Were Welcomed and Offered Food

Thirteen of Dpal mo mtsho's paternal relatives and five friends arrived before the *A zhang*, and another twenty-four arrived just after the *A zhang*. Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub welcomed them all into the meal room where Rta mgrim rdo rje, Rab brtan, Skal bzang nyi ma, and Phag mo served them the same food that had been served to the *A zhang*. They were welcomed into the party room by two *sha nye* leaders after the meal.

Villagers Were Welcomed and Offered Food

Villagers came to Dpal mo mtsho's home at dusk. Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub welcomed all of them to the meal room, where *sha nye* members served them tea, fried bread, steamed stuffed dumplings, steamed buns, and rice cooked with butter, sugar, *gro ma*, and raisins.

Rta mgrim rdo rje and Phag mo organized seating. Village men roughly above the age of thirty-five sat in the double row of seating of older village men, younger village men sat in another double row, and older village women (forty and above) sat in a double row next to the young men. Younger village women sat around the edges of the rows.

THE NIGHT OF THE PARTY

Guests Sat in Designated Rows and Liquor and Cigarettes Were Offered

Around nine p.m., all the *A zhang*, '*grul ba*, and villagers were sitting in their appointed rows. Each of the six *chang ma* brought a bottle of Yiping Huzhu liquor, a bundle of beer, two packages of cigarettes, and three small bowls to their appointed row of seating and began offering them to guests.

A Helper Made an Oration

Clad in a lambskin robe, Phag mo tshe ring came to the edge of the *A zhang*'s double row of seating. A bundle of beer and a box containing twelve bottles of liquor were in front of him. He said:

¹Well, today, on the wonderful conjunction of the sun and stars,⁷⁴ on this wonderful date, the auspicious day, (which

⁷⁴ An auspicious alignment of the sun and stars portends the successful accomplishment of such endeavors as building a

is) the (all-) accomplishing day, Bkra shis and Sgrol ma mtsho are holding a hair changing ceremony for their girl (Dpal mo mtsho). ²All villagers, relatives, elderly people, friends, and most importantly, the *A zhang*, have gathered together in a row of seats in this home for this celebration. ³Generally, this kind of Tibetan party is a place where women display their turquoise and coral (jewelry), men wield daggers,⁷⁵ and singers gather. ⁴If the two (parents) are rich, (you all) deserve (to be served with) piles of various foods and draped in silk. ⁵Though they want to offer you such things, they cannot afford them.⁷⁶ ⁶To begin drinking, here is some liquor you may wish to drink,⁷ and some beer you may wish to drink.⁸ All the family and relatives hope that (you) all will stay overnight singing and dancing, according to your desire.

A Helper Sang an Opening Song

Rta mgrin dbang rgyal sang a Tibetan traditional song, holding a *kha btags* and a small bowl of liquor:

Song Four

1

¹ རྩླ' ພଣ୍ଡ' ຢ' ເତ' ອ' ພଣ୍ଡ' ຢ' ເତ' ||

² རྩླ' ພଣ୍ଡ' ຢ' ອ' ພଣ୍ଡ' ອ' ເତ' ດ' ເତ' ||

³ ཁ' ཁ' ສ' ອର୍ଦ୍ଦ' ດ' ດ' ສ' ອ' ເତ' ||

¹(Let me) sing the first song! (Let me) sing the first (song)!

²Sing the first song for the heavenly gods.

³Sing (the first song) that pleases all gods and goddesses.

house, starting a business, or becoming a monk. In order to determine such dates, locals consult astrologers who locate suitable dates in zodiac almanacs.

⁷⁵ It is Tibetan custom for young men to carry knives (often daggers).

⁷⁶ Literally, though they wish to extend their arms, their sleeves are too short.

¹ རྩླ' ນ ຮ ຣ ພ ເ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ
² རྩླ' ນ ຮ ຣ ສ ຖ ພ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ
³ རྩླ རྩླ ພ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ

¹(Let me) sing the middle song! (Let me) sing the middle (song)!

²Sing the middle song for the ocean (and the beings in it).

³Sing (the middle song) that pleases the many male and female water deities.

¹ རྩླ' ນ ຮ ຣ ພ ເ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ
² རྩླ' ນ ຮ ຣ ສ ຖ ພ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ
³ རྩླ རྩླ ພ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ ອ

¹(Let me) sing the last song! (Let me) sing the last (song).

²Sing the last song amid the great assembly.

³Sing (the last song) that pleases the many male and female singers.

He came to the *A zhang's* row while singing. Phag mo who is the leader of the helpers rewarded Rta mgrin dbang rgyal with a sash, which he tied over one shoulder and under the other. He presented *kha btags* to Dngos grub and offered a bowl of liquor to him. Dngos grub offered *mchod kha* and presented another *kha btags* to him, then he offered a bowl of liquor to them all while singing. They offered him *mchod kha*.

Afterwards Mgon po, Snyan grags, Dngos grub mtsho, Gu ru bsod nams, Lha mchog skyabs, Lcags mthar, Nor yus, Smon lam rgya mtsho, Phag mo skyid, and Bkra shis sang traditional Tibetan and modern songs. CK Stuart and Solomon Rino each sang an English song.

The six *chang ma* offered liquor, beer, and cigarettes constantly and insistently to all guests. Phag mo also offered sunflower seeds and peanuts to all guests.

Guests Presented Gifts to Dpal mo mtsho

While the guests were enjoying songs, liquor, and beer, Phag mo brought a piece of white felt to the end of the *A zhang*'s double row of seating and marked a Buddhist swastika on the felt with wheat seeds. Dpal mo mtsho and her family members came to the edge of the felt and faced the *A zhang*. Phag mo tshe ring announced that guests would present gifts.

Dpal mo mtsho prostrated to the *A zhang* on the felt, and then stood with her parents and Tshe dpal rdo rje. Dngos grub came to Dpal mo mtsho with a small bowl of liquor, and offered it to her. She offered *mchod kha* three times. He said:

¹Well, excellent! Today, on the wonderful conjunction of the sun and stars, on this wonderful date, the auspicious day, (which is) the (all-) accomplishing day, I am very happy that Bkra shis and Sgrol ma mtsho are holding a hair changing ceremony for (my) niece. ²You are all aware of my poverty; I am without adequate resources. ³Here are a piece of cloth for making a Tibetan robe, a shirt, a headdress, a piece of cloth for making a quilt, a *kha btags*, and 800 RMB for the girl. ⁴I hope this offering will satisfy the two of you.

All the *sha nyé* replied, "Well satisfied!"

Dpal mo mtsho's oldest maternal uncle Don 'grub approached Dpal mo mtsho and said:

¹Well, excellent! Today, on the wonderful conjunction of the sun and stars, on this wonderful date, the auspicious day, (which is) the (all-) accomplishing day, Bkra shis and Sgrol ma mtsho are holding a hair changing ceremony for (my) niece; all, guests, relatives, and most importantly villagers, have been invited to this celebration, so I am happy because of this. ²I am also happy that I was invited despite my lack of resources. ³I was destined to be your maternal uncle in this life therefore, it would be to me, the maternal uncle, only a virtue to make a Tibetan robe and dress the girl in it, thereby making her as blue as a cuckoo, and as black and white as a magpie. ⁴You are all aware of my poverty;⁷⁷ I am without adequate resources. Nevertheless,⁵here are a piece of cloth for making a Tibetan robe, a shirt, a headdress, and 500 RMB for (my) niece. ⁶I hope this offering will satisfy Bkra shis, Sgrol ma mtsho, and (my) niece.

All the *sha nyé* representing Dpal mo mtsho's family replied very loudly, "Well satisfied!"

Dpal mo mtsho's youngest maternal uncle was too shy to speak in front of the crowd and asked the oldest maternal uncle to present his gifts. He gave the following oration:

⁷⁷ See footnote seventy-two, above.

¹ଆବଦ୍ୟସୁରଶୀଘ୍ରଦ୍ୱାରାକଣାର୍ଥାଯିଦ୍ୱାରାତ୍ମିକାମାନଙ୍କରକଣାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର
କଣାପ୍ରକାଶଦ୍ୱାରାପ୍ରକାଶିତ୍ତାଯିଦ୍ୱାରାତ୍ମିକାମାନଙ୍କରକଣାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର
²ଦ୍ୱାରାପ୍ରକାଶଦ୍ୱାରାପ୍ରକାଶିତ୍ତାଯିଦ୍ୱାରାତ୍ମିକାମାନଙ୍କରକଣାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର
³ଦ୍ୱାରାପ୍ରକାଶଦ୍ୱାରାପ୍ରକାଶିତ୍ତାଯିଦ୍ୱାରାତ୍ମିକାମାନଙ୍କରକଣାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର

¹Your maternal uncle, Phun go, also lacks adequate resources. ²Thus, here he has cloth for making a Tibetan robe, and 500 RMB for (his) niece. ³He hopes this offering will satisfy the two of you (parents) and his niece.

All the *sha nye* representing Dpal mo mtsho's family replied very loudly, "Well satisfied!"

Then all the other *A zhang* asked Dpal mo mtsho's oldest maternal uncle and Dngos grub to present their gifts, because females never speak when presenting gifts and the other men were too reticent to speak. The gifts were piled on the felt.

After the *A zhang* finished presenting gifts, Phag mo, 'jam dbyang dpal ldan, and Pad ma moved the felt to the end of the '*grul ba*'s double row of seating and the '*grul ba*' began presenting gifts.

Dpal chen, Dpal mo mtsho's paternal grandmother's sister's husband, held gifts and said:

¹Well, excellent! Today, on the wonderful conjunction of the sun and stars Bkra shis and Sgrol ma mtsho are holding a hair changing ceremony for the niece. All villagers, relatives, friends, and most importantly the maternal uncles, have been invited to celebrate in this home (where there is) a lake of tea and liquor, where the three white foods⁷⁸ are

⁷⁸ Milk, yoghurt, and cheese.

displayed, and (where there is) a mountain of the three red foods.⁷⁹ So, I am happy about this. ²Here I have cloth for making a quilt, a tea brick, and one hundred RMB for the girl. ³I hope this offering will satisfy you all.

All the *sha nye* representing Dpal mo mtsho's family replied very loudly, "Well satisfied!"

Next, two of Dpal mo mtsho's father's cousins asked Dpal chen to present their gifts. Bkra shis, one of Dpal mo mtsho's cousins, presented his gifts himself. One of Dpal mo mtsho's father's cousin's husbands presented gifts on behalf of the paternal relatives. Sgas rgas presented his gifts by himself. These four people were the only ones brave enough to speak publicly among all the '*grul ba*. The other '*grul ba* asked these four people to present their gifts. Their orations basically repeated what has been reported above. After they presented each '*grul ba*'s gifts, the *sha nye* representing Dpal mo mtsho's family said very loudly, "Very happy!"

The villagers presented the last gifts. Almost every village household presented ten RMB. The main presenters were Cod kod and Pag mo tshe ring.

All Guests Were Offered Food

While the guests were presenting gifts, Bstan 'dzin, Rab brtan, and Don 'grub cooked radish soup. The helpers were ready to serve food immediately after the guests finished presenting gifts. Bkra shis don 'grub and Don 'grub warmly welcomed all the *A zhang* to the meal room again and served them steamed stuffed dumplings, fried bread, steamed buns, and large plates of pork. Just after the *A zhang* were seated for the meal, Rta mgrin rdo rje, Pad ma, 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan, and Skal bzang nyi ma served radish soup to them all and urged them to eat more. Afterwards the two *sha nye* leaders welcomed them back to the party room. Following

⁷⁹ Meat, butter, and *thud*. *Thud* is wheat flour cooked in boiled water to which is added *rtsam pa*, butter, and cheese (sugar is also sometimes added) until it becomes thick and viscous. This mixture is then left in a bowl to set, and may be decorated with a Buddhist swastika of jujubes on the top.

this group, the '*grul ba*, the elder village males, the young village males and elder women, and the young village females were taken group by group into the meal room. They were all served the same food.

Snyan grags, 'jam dbyangs skyid (a local villager), Nor yus, Bde skyid, Smon lam rgya mtsho, Bkra shis, and Klu mo sang Tibetan traditional and modern songs. Nor yus, Smon lam rgya mtsho, and Snyan grags played the *pu wang*⁸⁰ while singing.

Two Helpers Made Orations to the *A zhang*, Presented Gifts, and Sang Songs of Reward

All the guests gathered in the party room again after the meal. Pag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought a piece of felt, 200 RMB, two tea bricks, one *kha btags*, and one *kha ba*. They put them all on the table in front of the *A zhang zhang bo*, Dngos grul. Pag mo tshe ring said to Dngos grul:

¹Today, on the wonderful conjunction of the sun and stars, Bkra shis and Sgrol ma mtsho are holding a celebration for the girl. ²As a *zhang rta*, a reddish-brown steed with a long mane should be generously offered to you. ³(However), I lack resources at this time. ⁴Thus, here are a piece of white felt, 200 RMB, two tea bricks, one china bowl, and one *kha btags* (for you). ⁵I hope this will satisfy you as (a replacement for) a *zhang rta*.

⁸⁰ An upright bowed fiddle with two strings.

Dngos grul replied:

¹I am happy that it is an adequate substitute for a *zhang rta*.⁸¹

Pag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought another piece of white felt, 500 RMB, two tea bricks, and two *kha btags*. Pag mo tshe ring said:

¹ ཡ་ད་බད་ཆෙක් සිහු නුදු බිජා කරා සූෂ්ණ එක් සූෂ්ණ කෙක් දේ විජා තුදු රුසායා දා කු පායා
ස රේ පැය් දේ සා ඇ මෙර ඇ මෙර දේ සා එක් ² දේ රේ තිජා සා දෙක් ගාසා විජා ³ දේ එක් වා
ව දී කරා යා දර දර තිජා ඇ මෙර ඇ මෙර පාසා දා යා යා මෙර පාසා විජා පැය් දේ දී
ක් ගාසා තුදු පැය් විජා උ පාසා මෙර පාසා මෙර පාසා මෙර පාසා මෙර පාසා මෙර පාසා මෙර පාසා

¹Well, as a *zhang mdzo*, generally, a *mdzo* with long horns should be offered to you out of generosity. ²(However,) we lack resources at this time. ³Therefore, here are a piece of white felt, 500 RMB, two tea bricks, and one *kha btags*; I hope this will satisfy you as (a replacement for) a *zhang mdzo*.

Dngos grul replied:

¹ ས୍ରୁଦ୍ଧ-ସନ୍ତିଶ-ସିନ୍ବା-କର୍ମ-ଶି-ଦୁଃ-ଖି-ଶା-କର୍ମ-ପଦ୍ମ-ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା-ଦୟା-ଶିଶୁ-ଶା-ଦୟା-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-
ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-
² ପଦ୍ମ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-
ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-କର୍ମ-ଶିଶୁ-

¹The two of you offered this amount (of gifts) as a substitute for a *zhang mdzo*, but such an amount is not enough to buy a *zhang mdzo*. ²Please reconsider whether or not such an amount is enough to buy (a *zhang mdzo*).

Pag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought another piece of felt, 200 RMB, two tea bricks, and two *kha btags*. Pag mo tshe ring said:

⁸¹ One horse cost about 2,000 RMB in 2007.

¹Well, as a *zhang mdzo*, ²you should be definitely offered a *mdzo*, but (we) lack the resources. ³Therefore, again here are another piece of white felt, 200 RMB, two tea bricks, and two *kha btags* (for you). ⁴I hope this will satisfy you as (a replacement for) a *zhang mdzo*.

Dngos grul replied:

‘ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟାନାତ୍ମିକାଶ୍ଚ’ ଏବଂ ‘ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟାନାତ୍ମିକାଶ୍ଚ’ ଏବଂ ‘ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟାନାତ୍ମିକାଶ୍ଚ’

¹The two of you showed your appreciation again and again.
Therefore, I am happy with the substitute for a *zhang*
*mdzo.*⁸²

Pag mo tshe ring and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan brought two more pieces of white felt, 300 RMB, two tea bricks, and two *kha btags*. Pag mo tshe ring said:

¹ Again as a *zhang lug*, a sheep should definitely be offered to you out of generosity, but (we) lack resources at this time.
² Therefore, here are two pieces of white felt, 300 RMB, two tea bricks, and one *kha btags* (for you)³ I hope that these will satisfy you as (a replacement for) a *zhang lug*.

⁸² A *mdzo* cost 1,500 RMB in 2007.

Dngos grub replied:

¹ དුෂ්ඨ් සමිනා ය දැ මුෂ් තෙනා තු පෙන් දැ දැ රු දැ දැ මුෂ් ය දැ මුෂ්
² තු දැ තු දැ

¹ Well, as a substitute for a *zhang lug*, I am happy with you
(showing) respect in such a manner. ² Therefore, please sing
mgur like rain.

Tshe ring rdo rje sang:

Song Five

1

¹ ය මු තු තු ය මු මු මු මු මු මු ||
² මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
³ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
⁴ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
⁵ මු පේ මු පේ ||

¹ Among flocks of a hundred birds,
² A bird stood out.
³ When (I) asked who it was,
⁴ The garuda replied that it was him.
⁵ It is, indeed, true.

2

¹ ය ණ තු තු ය ණ මු මු මු මු මු ||
² අ පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
³ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
⁴ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ මු පේ ||
⁵ මු පේ මු පේ ||

¹ Among herds of a hundred horses,
² A horse stood out.
³ When (I) asked who it was,

⁴The 'do rigs⁸³ horse replied that it was him.

⁵It is, indeed, true.

3

¹ཡ·ད·ཆ්·པත්·ම්·වඩ·ෂා·රු॥

²ම්·යැලා·රෝද·ක·යුණා·ශී॥

³ෂුජිත·ය·ඇජිත·නිෂා·ශී॥

⁴ඇ·බඳ·බඳ·ස්·ම්·ර්ඇජ·ඇෂ·ශී॥

⁵ද්·ඡ·වදේ·ශී॥

¹Among throngs of a hundred people,

²A person sat at the head of a row.

³When (I) asked who it was,

⁴The *A zhang zhang bo* replied that it was him.

⁵It is, indeed, true.

4

¹ཡ·ද·දට්·යා·ශී·ය·වහාස·දගා·ස්·දි·ශී॥

²දි·ජ·බඳ·බඳ·ස්·දාස·ශී·දාස·න්ද·ස්·ශී·ස්ද·ක්ක·ශී·ද·න්·ජ·ය·පෙද·ය·ක්ෂ·

ඇජ·ඇෂ·තු·දා

¹This white *kha btags* I hold,

²It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall purge the *A zhang zhang bo's* spirit of annoyance.

Then Mkhlas grub sang a *mgur*:

Song Six

1

¹සේ·සෑ·දගා·ස්·වඩ·ෂ·රු·යුද·ක॥

²ස්·කේත·ය·වඩ·ර්ධී·තුත·ඇජ·ඇෂ·ශී॥

¹When the white lion stands proudly on the snow mountain,

²It is said to be the attribute of Rma chen Snow Mountain.

⁸³ A much valued breed of horse.

¹ କୁଞ୍ଜାଦର୍ଶକଣାକାନ୍ତିର୍ଦ୍ଵାରା
² କୁଞ୍ଜିର୍ଦ୍ଵାରାଯି କୁର୍ବିନ୍ଦିର୍ବେଶସୀ

- ¹When the fierce red tiger stands proudly in the forest,
²It is said to be the attribute of a *rgya rdzong*⁸⁴ forest.

¹ଦ୍ୟାମନ୍ତରୀଶ୍ଵରକଣ୍ଠଶାରୀ ॥
²କନ୍ତୁଶ୍ରୀଦାତରୁଶ୍ରୀକନ୍ତୁପିତ୍ରଶ୍ରୀ ॥

- ¹When fathers and uncles assemble in rows,
²It is said to be the attribute of the great assembly.

- ¹This white *kha btags* I hold,
²It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall
purge the *A zhang zhang bo*'s spirit of annoyance.

Mkhas grub was followed by Jo ko, who also sang a *mgur*:

Song Seven

²ଶ୍ରୀକୃତ୍ସନ୍ମାରକ୍ଷଣପ୍ରେଦ୍ବିଶି।

³ଶଶକ୍ରତ୍ଯେଷିଯଙ୍କାନ୍ତୁପେଦ୍ୟୀ

- ¹Small black crows are descendants of the garuda.

- ²None of the garuda's descendants look old.

- ³No spots physically appear, even though they grow old.

⁸⁴ This refers to a dense forest.

¹ འདྲଁସିଶାନ୍ତ འଦିସୁଦ୍ଧିଷୀ କୁଦ୍ରିଦେନା
² କୁଦ୍ଧିଷୀ କୁଦ୍ରିଷୀ କଣ ନମନ ପୈଦିଷୀ
³ କଣ କଣ ଯେତା ପଣ ପକ୍ଷ କୁଦ୍ଧିଷୀ

- ¹ 'do rigs horses are descendants of wild asses.
² None of the wild asses' descendants look old.
³ They don't lose their stride, even though they grow old.

¹ ଆ ବନ୍ଦ ବନ୍ଦ ଶିରିଶା ପଦି କୁଦ୍ରିଦେନା
² ରିଶା ପଦି କୁଦ୍ରିଷୀ କଣ ନମନ ପୈଦିଷୀ
³ କଣ କଣ ଶନୁଦ ଶନୁଦ ପକ୍ଷ କୁଦ୍ଧିଷୀ

- ¹ A zhang zhang bo are descendants of an intelligent lineage.
² None of the descendants of the intelligent lineage look old,
³ They don't lose their eloquence, even though they grow old.

¹ ଯାଦ୍ଵଦି ପଣ ଶିରିଶା ନାମ ଶିରିଶା ଗଞ୍ଜ
² ଏଦି ଆ ବନ୍ଦ ବନ୍ଦ ଶିରିଶା ନାମ ଶିରିଶା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ କରି ଫେଦି ପାଇଦି ପାଇଦି ପାଇଦି ପାଇଦି

- ¹ This white *kha btags* I hold,
² It is said that this pure *kha btags* is the reward that shall purge the *A zhang zhang bo*'s spirit of annoyance.

Then they presented a *kha btags* to Dngos grub and a tea brick, and one *kha btags* to each of the other *A zhang* and '*grul ba*'. Twenty minutes later, Dngos grub asked Dpal mo mtsho, her parents, Phag mo tshe ring, and 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan to come to the end of their double row of seating where they stood. Dngos grub said, "I am very happy that you presented so many gifts to me and showed your appreciation and respect. Here, you presented 1,200 RMB, six pieces of white felt, eight tea bricks, seven *kha btags*, and one *kha ba*. Now I will return all the gifts to the family except one *kha btags* and one *kha ba*. I am really happy about this and won't take the gifts, because I presented only a few gifts to the

girl."

Next, each *A zhang* and '*grul ba* returned a tea brick to the family and each kept a *kha btags*.

More Songs; the *Bag ma* Offered Liquor to All the *A zhang* and '*grul ba*

Guests enjoyed songs, liquor, and beer. The singers sang traditional and modern songs. Dpal mo mtsho offered a bowl of liquor to every *A zhang* and '*grul ba*. All the *A zhang* offered *mchod kha* with Dpal mo mtsho's bowl of liquor. Also, most gave approximately three RMB to Dpal mo mtsho.

Most villagers and '*grul ba* began leaving at around three a.m. Around five a.m., only seven *A zhang*, ten '*grul ba*, and fifteen villagers remained. They continued to enjoy songs, liquor, and beer. At around five-thirty a.m., helpers cooked boiled stuffed dumplings and offered them to the remaining guests.

DEPARTURE

Just before dawn, at about seven, Tshe dpal rdo rje went to the five village homes where the *A zhang* had spent the night and invited them to the family home where they were offered boiled stuffed dumplings. After the meal, the helpers and Dpal mo mtsho's family saw the *A zhang* off. The helpers and Dpal mo mtsho's family offered five bottles of Yiping Huzhu liquor and ten bottles of Yellow River beer as *bro chang* for them to enjoy on their way home.

Dpal mo mtsho's family and helpers offered boiled stuffed dumplings to all the '*grul ba* at Dpal mo mtsho's home. After the meal, all the '*grul ba* left for their homes except for three of Dpal mo mtsho's paternal aunts. There was no ritual for their departure.

A PARTY FOR HELPERS ON THE DEPARTURE DAY

Five helpers remained after all the guests left. Dpal mo mtsho's brother and Tshe dpal rdo rje went to each of the thirty *sha nye* families and invited them to *rdul sprugs* at Dpal mo mtsho's home. At around ten a.m., twenty-five people had gathered at Dpal mo mtsho's home. Her parents, brother, a maternal cousin, and Tshe dpal rdo rje offered tea, fried bread, steamed stuffed dumplings, steamed buns, boiled pork, and radish soup. After the meal, all but twelve men left. Dpal mo mtsho's father and Tshe dpal rdo rje offered them beer, liquor, and cigarettes. They drank until four p.m. and then left, marking the end of Dpal mo mtsho's hair changing ritual.

CONCLUSION

The described ritual signals that the girl is ready for socially sanctioned sexual relationships and marriage. No village girl can marry without first having had the hair changing ritual at the age of thirteen, fifteen, or seventeen. The village's remoteness partially explains this ritual's retention. In 2007, certain families from villages near the county town, e.g., Rtsa ring mo Village, Dkar brjid Township, held hair changing and wedding rituals in restaurants. Space and time limitations in restaurants limit rituals, further contributing to the loss of many aspects of traditional ceremonies.

If parents do not hold this hair changing ceremony for their daughters, the parents and the girl are held in contempt by other villagers, who feel the parents are irresponsible and shameless. Furthermore, the ritual has become a competitive event, with families competing to see who offers the most expensive liquor and cigarettes. For example, when Tshe dpal rdo rje was around fifteen, the villagers gave two to five RMB for a gift while they gave ten to fifteen RMB in 2007.

The host family experiences a net financial loss when holding this ritual because they must offer gifts of the same or higher value when an attendee's family eventually holds the same ritual. For example, one of Dpal mo mtsho's maternal aunts gave her 1,000 RMB. Later, Dpal mo mtsho's family will give more than 1,000 RMB when her maternal aunt holds a hair changing ritual for her daughter.

Gender roles are also revealed during the ritual. For example, only girls have this ritual and maternal relatives are the most important guests at the event, but a closer look reveals gender inequality. Females are never *A zhang zhang bo* and village females do not have a designated row of seating. Nevertheless, a girl is the focus of the ritual. The ritual also provides a defining moment for a community member to meet their relatives and, because of the seating order, know exactly where they belong in terms of generation, blood and marriage relationships to others, and clan affiliations.

FIGURES



Figure 9. Dpal mo mtsho wears a *phrug* robe.



Figure 10. Dpal mo mtsho wears a *tsha ru* (lambskin robe).



Figure 11. Dpal mo mtsho wears a *zhwa mo sna bzhi* (hat) and *rna tog sbal ba*.



Figure 12. *Skra lung*.



Figure 13. Upper part of the *skra lung* or *skra dus*.



Figure 14. Dpal mo mtsho wears *skra lung* in front.



Figure 15. *Rna tog sbal ba*.



Figure 16. *Glo zung*.



Figure 17. Dpal mo mtsho wears a *glo zung*.

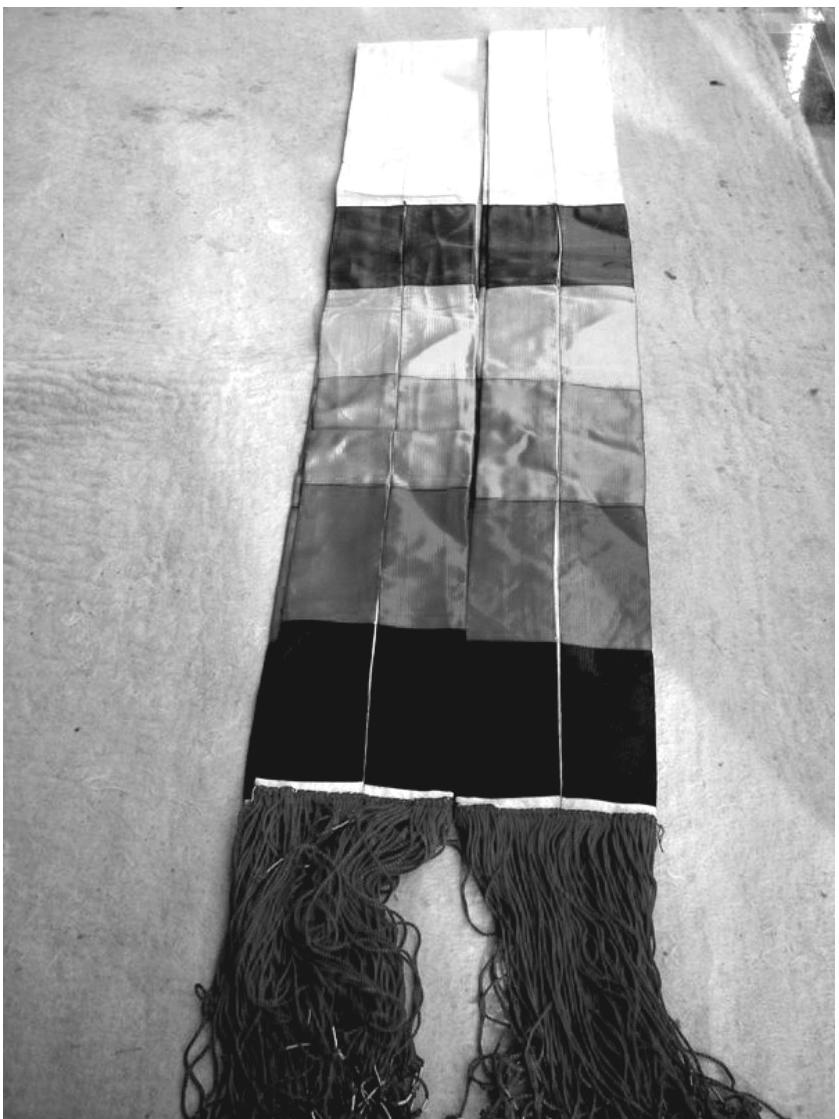


Figure 18. *Gseb rtags*.



Figure 19. Dpal mo mtsho wears *gseb rtags* (right).



Figure 20. Dpal mo mtsho's braids.



Figure 21. *Gor mo phyi* is put on a table for the first fifteen days of Lo sar.



Figure 22. Lhun grub's religious implements include *dril bu*, *rdo rje*, *Da ru*, *rtsam 'bol*, and *g.yang mda'*.



Figure 23. The *rtsam 'bol*.



Figure 24. The *g.yang mda'*.



Figure 25. Skal bzang sgrol ma (b. 1994), Pad ma skyid (b. 1998), Nor bu mtsho mo (b. 1992), and Phag mo mtsho (b. 1998) sit beside Dpal mo mtsho at the *ma sru mgo 'dus*.



Figure 26. The *ma sru mgo 'dus* or gathering of girls and women on the morning of the party day.



Figure 27. Skal bzang mtsho (Dpal mo mtsho's mother's younger sister, left), Phag mo (second older sister, right), and Dge 'dun sgrol ma (Phag mo's daughter, center).



Figure 28. The *A zhang zhang bo* (Dngos grub, center), Phun go (Dpal mo mtsho's mother's younger brother, right), and Don 'grub rgya mtsho (Dpal mo mtsho's mother's oldest sister's son, left).



Figure 29. Dpal mo mtsho offers a bowl of liquor to Mgong po, an *A zhang*.



Figure 30. Phun go (Dpal mo mtsho's mother's younger brother) receives *chang bsu* from Bun phreng rdo rje.



Figure 31. Dpal mo mtsho's paternal grandmother (Sgrol dkar, b. 1935).



Figure 32. Phag mo, CK Stuart, Solomon Rino, Su Haichun, and Skal bzang mtsho sit in the double row of seating reserved for a mix of *A zhang* and *'grul ba*.



Figure 33. Dpal chen presents gifts to Dpal mo mtsho.

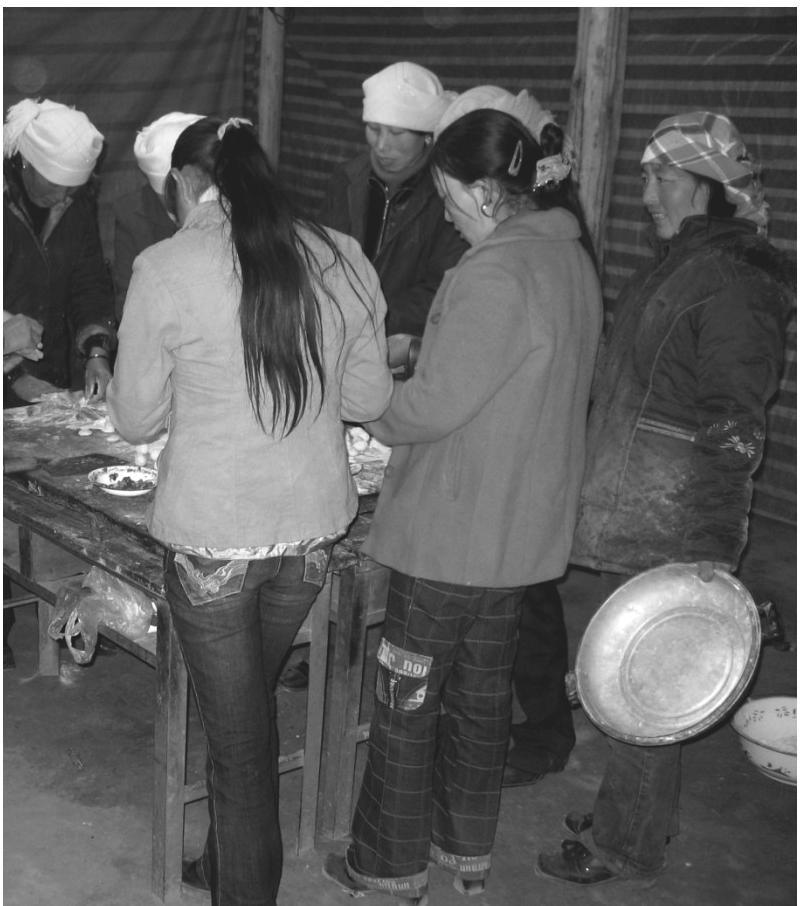


Figure 34. Female *sha ny'e* members make stuffed dumplings.

GLOSSARY

A zhang the girl's maternal relatives are collectively called *A zhang* at the hair changing party

A zhang zhang bo the most important person at the hair changing party who must be one of the girl's mother's brothers or representatives who are the mother's sister's husbands or their sons

bag ma the girl for whom the hair changing ritual is held

bag rogs the *bag ma*'s companion at the hair changing ritual who must be born in the same animal year as the *bag ma*

'bras sil rice cooked with butter, sugar, *gro ma* (wild yams), and raisins

'cham religious dance

chang bsu (*chang* = liquor; *bsu* = 'welcome') to welcome the *A zhang* with liquor; also, the liquor that is offered

chang ma 'liquor servants' who are in each double row of seating at the hair changing party

cung rdog steamed bread bun

gdong gral *A zhang*'s double row of seating at the hair changing party

Gdugs dkar literally means 'White Umbrella' and is the scripture of the goddess of the same name who has a thousand hands and heads

glo zung a large teardrop-shaped silver panel with a coral bead in the center on the upper part that is connected to a crescent-moon-shaped silver panel underneath that also features a coral bead in the center, and is attached to the girl's sash and worn on the right side

go dmar fried bread

gro ma wild baby yams

'grul ba the girl's paternal relatives and friends of family are collectively called '*grul ba*

'grul ba gral paternal relatives' double row of seating at the hair changing party

gseb rtags a piece of thick cloth made of six different colors:

white, green, yellow, blue, red, and black. The upper part is white cloth, is attached to the sash, and is worn on the right side. The lower part features red tassels.

gtor ma a cone-shaped ritual offering made from *rtsam pa*

gtor sgam chest for *gtor ma*

hog a hair ornament worn in Ne'u na Village

ja dpon leader of the helpers

kha btags ceremonial scarves given to guests as a sign of respect

khong the *A zhang zhang bo*'s anger displayed at the hair changing ritual

la dwang radish soup

ma sru all village females at the hair changing ritual

ma sru mgo 'dus female congregation on the morning of the party day

mdzo a yak-cow hybrid

mgur reward songs sung for females, the *sngags pa*, and the *A zhang zhang bo*

pan shul boiled stuffed dumplings

phrug a reddish-brown, woven, woolen cloth Tibetan robe

rdul sprugs cleaning done just after the *A zhang* leave and the process whereby the *sha nyé* return all the remaining food, cigarettes, liquor, and beer to the family and clean the pots, bowls, dishes, and basins used at the party

rgad po gral double row of seating for village male elders

rna tog sbal ba a pair of silver knots inlaid with a coral bead in the middle of each and two silver frogs connected to each with small silver chains. Seven or eight small chains connect seven or eight small bells to each frog. A silver hook at the head of the earring passes through the girl's ear.

rtsam 'bol a bowl of *rtsam pa* on top of which there is a sun, moon, and star made of butter

sga ser turmeric put inside steamed buns

sha nye village families are divided into two groups, which are the *sha nye* 'relatives', though members of a single *sha nye* may not necessarily be relatives. When families hold funerals, hair changing ceremonies, marriages, and chanting rituals, members of their *sha nye* are asked to help.

skra dus the top of the *skra lung* where embroidered sunflowers are featured

skra lung a hair ornament, which is a pair of long, narrow cloth strips. At the top, or *skra dus*, embroidered sunflowers are featured. Seven or eight buttons are atop the *skra dus*. The girl's braids are sheathed inside the *skra dus* and the buttons are fastened. Underneath are small panels of imitation coral beads. Beneath the beads are four attached, engraved square silver panels. A string of four imitation turquoise beads separates the panels on each strip. A small rectangular panel featuring zigzag lines of different colored threads is beneath the panel.

skra ston a ritual during which a girl's hairstyle is changed to signify that she may now have socially sanctioned sexual relations and that she is available for marriage

sngags pa a lay Rnying ma pa practitioner, referred to as *dpon* in colloquial Amdo Tibetan

ston gros a pre-party discussion held between the girl's family and fellow *sha nye* members at night at the girl's home about ten days before the ceremony to discuss the division of labor for the party

ston mo one of two gatherings constituting Skra ston, occurring at night, and attended by relatives, villagers, and family friends

tsha ru robe made of cloth with lambskin lining

tshod ma steamed stuffed dumplings

zhang lwa a Tibetan robe that is brought by the *A zhang zhang bo* for the girl. People in Brag dmar nang Village ask the *A zhang zhang bo* not to bring a *zhang lwa*. If he does, the family must give him a horse at the party.

zhwa mo sna bzhi a hat for girls made of imitation fox fur and colorful cloth

NON-ENGLISH TERMS

		Tibetan	English	<i>pinyin</i>	Chinese
<i>A zhang</i>	အ'ञ်		mother's brothers	<i>jiujiu</i>	舅舅
<i>A zhang zhang bo</i>	အ'ञ် အ'ञ် ဘု		Senior <i>A zhang</i>		
Ba yan	ပဲယံ	Hualong Hui Autonomous County		Bayan	巴燕
<i>bag ma</i>	မရာၣာ		girl whose hair is being dressed		
<i>bag rogs</i>	မရာၣာၣာ		<i>bag ma's</i> companion		
Ban de	ပန်း		*person		
Bde skyid	ပေါ်ဆို		*person		
Bdud' dul rdo rje	ဆုတ္တားလူရွှေ		*person		
Bkra shis	မရာၣာၣာ		*person		
Bkra shis don 'grub	မရာၣာၣာ ထွန်းမရာၣာ		*person		
Bkra shis g.yang 'bod	မရာၣာၣာ ဂျော်မရာၣာ		*scripture		
Bla brang	ရား		*monastery	Labuleng si	拉卜楞寺
Blo bzang	ဆုတ္တာ		*person		
Brag dmar nang	ရားတီနားနံ့		*village	Zhemeang	者么昂
'bras sil	ဒုန္နာၣာ		*food		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
<i>bro chang</i>	布穀藏	liquor provisions		
'brug mo	噶魯烏莫	*person		
Bsod nams	巴索敦娘	*person		
Bsang chu	巴桑楚	*place	Xiahe	夏河
Bstan 'dzin	巴欽	*person		
Bu mo'i skra 'bebs	布木伊色拉白波	hair changing scripture		
Bun phreng	奔經	*person		
Bun phreng rdo rje	奔經多傑	*person		
Bya khog	巴柯	*place		
Bya khyung	巴欽	*monastery	Xiaqiong	夏琼
Byams pa	巴彌巴	*person		
Byams skyid	巴彌色	*person		
ca la	察拉	*hair ornament		
Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring	查巴嘎拉多杰慈仁	*person		
'cham	查瑪	religious dance		
<i>chang bsu</i>	藏布蘇	welcoming with liquor	<i>yingjiu</i>	迎酒
<i>chang ma</i>	藏瑪	liquor servant	<i>jinjiuzhe</i>	敬酒者
Chos mo mtsho	措謨錯措	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Chos skyong	chos skyung	*person		
Chos skyong mtsho	chos skyung mtsho	*person		
Cod kod	cod kôd	*person		
cung rdog	cung rdog	steamed bread buns	huajuan	花卷
Dbang chos	dbang chos	*person		
Da ru	da ru	A small two-faced drum with attached strikers.	bolanggu	拨浪鼓
Dbus gtsang	dbus gtsang	*place	Xizang	西藏
Dge 'dun rgya mtsho	dge 'dun rgya mtsho	*person		
Dge 'dun sgrol ma	dge 'dun sgrol ma	*person		
Dgo rtse	dgo rtse	*person		
Dkar drus ma	dkar drus ma	*person		
Dkon mchog don 'grub	dkon mchog don 'grub	*person		
Dkon mchog mtso	dkon mchog mtso	*person		
Dkar brijd	dkar brijd	*township	Garang	尕让
Dkar mtsho skyid	dkar mtsho skyid	*person		
dmangs glu	dmangs glu	Tibetan traditional song		
Dmar sdang	dmar sdang	*place		
Dngos grub mtsho	dngos grub mtsho	*person		
Don grub	don grub	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Don 'grub rgya mtsho	དོན་འགྙྲ་རྒྱା ཡྷྲୁଁ	*person		
Dpa' lung	དཔାର རୁଙ୍	*county	Hualong	化隆
Dpal chen	དཔାଲ ଚେନ୍	*person		
Dpal chen rdo rje	དཔାଲ ଚେନ୍ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ	*person		
Dpal ldn lha mo	དཔାଲ ଲ୍ଦନ୍ ଲ୍ହା ମୋ	*person		
Dpal mo mtsho	ད୍ୱାଳ ମୋ ମୃତ୍ଶ୍ଵହୀ	*person	Huamaocuo	华毛措
dril bu	ସ୍ତ୍ରୀଲୁ	*religious instrument		
dpon rgen	ଦ୍ୱାଳ ର୍ଗେନ୍	Local oral term for <i>sngags pa</i> .		
dpon dar	ଦ୍ୱାଳ ଦାର୍	silk for the kings		
Dun pa	ଦୁନ୍ ପା	*place		
Gyang 'bum	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ ବୁମ୍	*person		
gyang mda'	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ ମ୍ଦା'	*religious instrument		
gdong gral	ଘାଙ୍ଗ ଗ୍ରାଲ୍	main double row of seating		
Gdugs dkar	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ଦ୍କାର୍	*scripture		
glo zung	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ଚୁଂ	*ornament		
Gong ho	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ହୋ	*county		
go dmar	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ଦ୍ମାର୍	fried bread	<i>youbing</i>	油饼
gor mo phyi	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ମୋ ଫ୍ଯାଇ	*bread		
Grang ka	ଘ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ କା	*village	Zhengga	正尕

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
<i>gro ma</i>	grossa	wild baby yams	<i>renshenguo</i>	人参果
Gro tshang	grosshang	*place	Ledu	乐都
<i>'grul ba gral</i>	gnyug-pa-gral	guests' double row of seating		
<i>'grul ba</i>	gnyug-pa	guests	<i>keren</i>	客人
<i>Gsang bdag</i>	gnyang-bdag	*person		
<i>gseb rtags</i>	gnyer-tags	*ornament		
<i>gtor ma</i>	gnyor-ma	*dough effigy		
<i>gtor sgam</i>	gnyor-sgam	*wooden case for <i>gtor ma</i>		
<i>Gu ru</i>	gu ru	*person		
<i>Gu ru bsod nams</i>	gu ru bsod-nams	*person		
<i>Gyang mo</i>	gnyang-mo	*person		
<i>hog</i>	hog	*ornament		
<i>Hu'u pen</i>	hu'u-pen	*person		
<i>ja dp'on</i>	ja-dpon	leader of the helpers		
<i>'jam dbyangs dpal ldan</i>	nbum-dbyangs-dpal-ldan	*person		
<i>'jam dbyangs skyid</i>	nbum-dbyangs-skyid	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
'jam dpal	ཇམ་ດཔལ།	*person		
'jam dpal rdo rje	ཇམ་ດཔལ་རྡོ་རྗྱེ།	*person		
jigs byed	ཇིགས་བྱེད།	*person		
jo ko	ཇོ་ກོ	*person		
Kan lho	ཀན་ལ୍ହོ	*prefecture		
Kan su'u	ཀན་සྉཻ	*province		
kha ba	ཁା ବା	a bowl full of candy and fruits		
kha btags	ཁା ବ୍ତାଙ୍ସ	strip of ceremonial silk	hada	哈达
Khab sgang	ཁାବ ଶଙ୍କ	*place		
khong	ཁୋଂ	anger	femu	愤怒
Khri ka	ཁ୍ରି କା	*county	Guide	贵德
Klu mo	ཁ୍ଲୁ ମୋ	*person		
Kong rtse	କୋଙ୍ ର୍ତ୍ସେ	Confucius		
Kos nan	କୋସ ନାନ	*county	Guinan	贵南
Kun bzang	କୁନ୍ ବ୍ଜାଙ୍	*person		
Kun bzang rdo rje	କୁନ୍ ବ୍ଜାଙ୍ ର୍ଡୋ ର୍ଜୀ	*person		
la dwang	ଲା ଦ୍ୱାଙ୍	radish soup		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Lcags mthar	湟察若瑪	*person		
Lcang ra	湟卡	*place	Jiangla	江拉
Lcang rtsa	湟卡寺	*village	Jiangza	江扎
Lha byams	湟巴瑪	*person		
Lha mchog skyabs	湟莫錯桑	*person		
Lha mo	湟莫	*person		
Lha mo ris	湟莫日	*person		
Lha mo sgrol ma	湟莫索洛瑪	*person		
Lha mo skyid	湟莫錫德	*person		
Lha mo tshe ring	湟莫擦仁	*person		
Lha mo tshe ring	湟莫擦仁	*person		
Lha phyug	湟普	*person		
Lha rgyal skyid	湟格雅錫德	*person		
Lha sgron	湟桑	*person		
Lha sa	湟沙	*place	Lasa	拉萨
Lhung grub	湟諾布	*person		
Lnga ba'i gdugs dkar	湟加巴吉敦巴	*ceremony		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Inga rgya	ིང་རྒྱ	*village	Najia	那加
Lo yag	ລྷྟ	*village	Luoyehai	落也海
Lo sar	ລྷྟ	New Year		
ma sr'u	ມାସ୍ରୁ	mothers and sisters		
ma sru mgo 'dus	ມାସ୍ରୁ ମ୍ଗୋ ଦୁସ	female congregation on the morning of the party day		
Mang ra	ມାଙ୍ଗ	*place		
mchod kha	ମକ୍ତ୍ତା	liquor offering		
mdzo	ମାତ୍ତେ	yak-cow hybrid	niu	牛
Mi nyag mar ka	ମିନ୍ୟାମାରକା	*village	Xiaminai	下米乃
Mes nyag yar ka	ମେଶନ୍ୟାଯାରକା	*village	Hai	海
Mgo log	ମଗ୍ଲୋଗ	*prefecture	Shangminai	上米乃
Mgo mang	ମଗ୍ଲମଙ୍ଗ	*place	Guolu	果洛
Mgon po	ମଙ୍ଗପୋ	*person	Guoma ying	过马迎
Mgon rgya	ମଙ୍ଗର୍ଗ୍ୟା	*village	Guanjia	关加
ngu'r	ନ୍ଗୁର	reward songs		
njal dar	ନ୍ଜାଲଦାର	silk for lamas		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Mkha' 'gro	མཁាប་འਗྲ	*person		
Mkhas grub	མཁས་གੁਬ	*person		
<i>mtha' gral</i>	མତ୍ତା ଗ୍ରାଳ	young men's double seating		
Mtsho 'khyil	མତ୍ତୋ କ୍ଷୀଳ	*place		
Mtsho lho	ମତ୍ତୋ ଲୋ	*prefecture	Hainan	海南
Mtsho shar	ମତ୍ତୋ ଶାର	*region	Haidong	海东
Mtsho singon	ମତ୍ତୋ ସିଙ୍ଗୋନ	*province	Qinghai	青海
Nam mkha'	ନମ ମଖା	*person		
Ne'u lung	ନେଁ ଲୁଙ୍ଗ	*village	Yelong	业龙
Ne'u na	ନେଁ ନା	*village	Nina	尼那
Nor yus	ନୋର ଯୁସ	*person		
Nor bu mtsho mo	ନୋର ବୁ ମତ୍ତୋ ମୋ	*person		
'on sgyu ske	ଓନ୍ ଶ୍ଗ୍ୟୁ ସ୍କେ	*village	Wanjia Gui	完加贵
Pad lcags	ପାଦ ଲ୍କାଗ୍	*person		
Pad ma skyid	ପାଦ ମା ଶ୍କ୍ୟିଡ	*person		
Pad ma tshe ring	ପାଦ ମା ତ୍ଶେ ରିଙ୍	*person		
<i>pan shul</i>	ପାନ ଶୁଲ	boiled stuffed dumplings	jiaozi	饺子

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Phag mo	ཕਾਗ	*person		
Phag mo mtsho	ཕਾਗ མਤ්ਸ	*person		
Phag mo skyid	ཕਾਗ གྱਿ	*person		
Phag mo tshe ring	ཕਾਗ བ්ସେ རିੰ	*person		
phag sha	ཕਾਗ	pork		
phring	ཕྙି	a Tibetan robe, robe cloth	pulu	氆氇
Phun go	ཕੁਨ	*person		
Phyag rdor skyid	ཕྙྱା ར୍ଦୋ གྱି	*person		
Rab btan	རྣବ ཚନ୍	*person		
Ra gong ma	රླ ཁୋଙ	*village		
rdo rje	རྡୋ ຮୀ	*religious instrument		
Rdo rje	རྡୋ ຮୀ	*person		
Rdo rje bkra shis	རྡୋ ຮୀ ད୍କ୍ରା ག୍ରୀ	*person		
Rdo rje dpal	རྡୋ ຮୀ ད୍ପାଲ	*person		
Rdo rje lhun 'grub	རྡୋ ຮୀ རୁନ ག୍ରୁ	*person		
Rdo rje mtsho	རྡୋ ຮୀ མ୍ତ୍ସ	*person		
Rdo rje sgrol ma	རྡୋ ຮୀ ཙ୍ଗ୍ରୋ ༜୍ଞ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Rdo rje skyid <i>rdul sprugs</i>	དྲୁଲ གྙକྡୁ	*person		
<i>rgad po gral</i>	དྲୁଲ གྙକྡୁ	banquet for the helpers		
Rgya mi	ရ୍ୟା ମି	older men's double row of seating		
Rig 'dzin sgrol ma	ସ୍ୱା ଦେଖିନ୍ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ	Han Chinese	Han	汉
Rig grol	ସ୍ୱା ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ	*person		
Rin chen rdo rje	ସ୍ୱର୍ଗ କେତ୍ତା ର୍ତ୍ତ୍ଵ	*person		
Rin chen skyid	ସ୍ୱର୍ଗ କେତ୍ତା ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ	*person		
<i>rin po che</i>	ରିନ୍ ପୋ ଚେ	precious		
Rma chen	କୁଳମା	*county		
<i>rna lung</i>	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ	earrings		
<i>rna tog sbal ba</i>	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ ଘରାନା	*ornament		
Rnam rgyal	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ	*person		
<i>rnga lung</i>	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ	strap on the side of a drum		
Rta ngrin dbang rgyal	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ ଦଙ୍ଗ ର୍ତ୍ତ୍ଵ	*person		
Rta ngrin mtsho	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ ତୁଶ୍ଚ	*person		
Rta ngrin rdo rje	କୁଣ୍ଡଳ ର୍ତ୍ତ୍ଵ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Rta thang	རྩା ནଙྰ	*county	Datong	大通
Rtsa ring mo	རྩା ອିଙ୍ଗ ༡ୋ	*village		
rtsam 'bol	རྩା ພାନ୍ଦୁ	*religious instrument		
rtsam pa	རྩା ພା	*food	zamba	糌粑
Sangs rgyas	ସଙ୍ଗ ຮ୍ୟା	*person		
Sde brgyad ljags bsngo	ସେ ບ୍ରୀ ལ୍ଜା བ୍ସଙ୍ଗ	*scripture		
Sde tsha	ସେ ତ୍ୱା	*place	Zhizha	支扎
Sdong rgan thang	ସଦଂ ରଙ୍ଗ ଥଙ୍କ	*village	Dongguo	东果堂
sga ser	ସା ଶେ	turmeric	jianghuang	姜黄
sgo chang	ସା କଂ	gate liquor		
Sgo kha	ସା ଖା	*place		
Sgrol dkar	ସା ଦକ୍ର	*person		
Sgrol ma	ସା ମା	*person		
Sgrol ma mtsho	ସା ମା ମତ୍ଶୋ	*person		
sha nye	ସା ନ୍ୟେ	helpers	huoban	伙伴
Shes rab mtsho	ସେ ରାବ ମତ୍ଶୋ	*person		
Skal bzang	ସକ ବ୍ଜାଙ୍ଗ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	<i>pinyin</i>	Chinese
Skal bzang mtsho	སྐལ་བྱଙ୍ଗ ཡྲྟྙྩྰ	*person		
Skal bzang nyi ma	སྐལ་བྱଙ୍ଗ ཉྱି ཡླྷ	*person		
Skal bzang sgrol ma	སྐལ་བྱଙ୍ଗ རྒྱྲྦ ཡླྷ	*person		
Skar ma	སྐର ཡା	*person		
Ske rgya	སྐྱྚ རྒྱା	*village	Gejia	格加
skra dus	ສྐྱା པྱ	*ornament	toushi	头饰
skra lung	ສྐྱା རྟྙ	*ornament	toushi	头饰
skra phab	ສྐྱା ພା	hair ceremony		
skra ston	ສྐྱା མྲྠ	hair-changing ritual	shangton yishi	上头仪 式
Sku 'bum	ສྐྱྚ དྲྷ	*monastery	Ta'er si	塔尔寺
Sm'on lam rgya mtsho	ສྐྱା ་ བྱଙ୍ଗ རྒྱା ཡྲྟྙྩྰ	*person		
sngags pa	ສྐྱା ພା	lay Rnying ma pa practitioner		
Snyan grags	ສྐྱା ་ ལྚྔ ལྚྔ	*person		
Sri thar	ສྐྱା ་ ལྚྔ	*person		
ston gros	ສྐྱା ་ ལྚྔ	discussion of helpers		
ston mo	ສྐྱା ་ ལྚྔ	party	yanxi	宴席
Su sprang thar rgya mtsho	ສྐྱା ་ ལྚྔ ་ རྒྱା ཡྲྟྙྩྰ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Sum pa	སྒྱମ	*village	Songba	松巴
Thang chen	ཐང་ཆେན	*place		
<i>tha na</i>	ཐା ନା	*ornament		
<i>tsha ru</i>	ତ୍ସା ରୁ	lambskin robe	<i>yanggaopi</i> <i>zangpao</i>	羊羔皮 藏袍
<i>thon ni</i>	ଠନ ନି	*ornament		
Thun te	ତୁନ ଟେ	*county		
Tsha nag	ତ୍ସା ନାଗ	*village		
Tshe dbang rdo rje	ତ୍ସେ ଦଙ୍ଗ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ	*person		
Tshe dbang sgrol ma	ତ୍ସେ ଦଙ୍ଗ ସ୍ଗ୍ରୋ ମା	*person		
Tshe dpal rdo rje	ତ୍ସେ ଦ୍ପାଲ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ	*person		
Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma	ତ୍ସେ ଦ୍ଜିନ ସ୍ଗ୍ରୋ ମା	*person		
Tshe 'grub	ତ୍ସେ ଗ୍ରୁବ	*person		
Tshe 'phel	ତ୍ସେ ଫେଲ	*person		
Tshe ring dbang rgrayl	ତ୍ସେ ରିଙ୍ ଦଙ୍ଗ ର୍ଗ୍ୟାଲ	*person		
Tshe ring lha mo	ତ୍ସେ ରିଙ୍ ଲା ମୋ	*person		
Tshe ring rdo rje	ତ୍ସେ ରିଙ୍ ର୍ଦୋ ର୍ଜେ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
Tshe ring rgyal	ཚྲସ རྒྱାල	*person		
Tshe ring sgrol ma	ཚྲସ ལྩ୍ଗ ༜ྰୋଲ ମା	*person		
Tshe ring skyid	ཚྲସ ལྩ୍ଗ ལୀକ୍ଯିଦ	*person		
Tshe thar	ཚྲସ ଥାର	*person		
tshod ma	ཚྲସ ମା	steamed stuffed dumplings	baozi	包子
Ye shes sgrol ma	ཡେ ଶେ ལྩ୍ଗ ༜ྰୋଲ ମା	*person		
Za sgang	ဇା ଶଙ୍ଗ	*place		
zar chu	ဇାର ଚୁ	hairdressing liquid		
Zha lung thang	ଜାଲୁଙ୍ଗ ତଙ୍ଗ	*place		
<i>zhang hwa</i>	ଜାଂହା	clothes brought by A <i>zhang zhang</i> bo for the girl		
<i>zhang lug</i>	ଜାଂଲୁଗ	a sheep for A <i>zhang</i>		
<i>zhang mdzo</i>	ଜାଂମ୍ଦ୍ଜୋ	a <i>mdzo</i> for A <i>zhang</i>		
<i>zhang rta</i>	ଜାଂର୍ତ୍ତା	a horse for A <i>zhang</i>		
Zhwa dmar pan+Tita dge 'dun bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho	ଉଦ୍ଧବ ପାନ ତିତା ଦ୍ଗେ ଦୁନ ବସ୍ତାନ ଦ୍ଜିନ ର୍ଗ୍ୟା ମତ୍ଶୋ	*person		

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
<i>zhwa mo sna bzhi</i>	ཇྲྪ མྎ ཟྨ བྰି	a hat for girls		
Zi ling	西藏	*city	Xining	西宁
		industry	<i>gongye</i>	工业
		*province	Henan	河南
		*county	Huzhu	互助
		*liquor	Huzhu daqu	互助 大曲
		*liquor	Huzhu tequ	互助 特曲
		*village	Jiedao	街道
		*beer	Jianiang	嘉酿
		*person	Li Fasheng	李发升
		*chemical fertilizer	<i>linsuan er'an</i>	磷酸二铵
		*cigarette	Ruan furong	软芙蓉
			<i>shangtou</i>	上头
		*person	Shenbao	神保
		*person	Su Haichun	素海春
		*person	Tang duoxian	汤夺先
		*place	Weiyuan	威远

Wiley	Tibetan	English	pinyin	Chinese
		administrative village	<i>xingzheng cun</i>	行政村
	*cigarette		Ying furong	硬芙蓉
	*liquor		Yipin huzhu	一品互助
	*company		Zhongyan	中烟
	natural village		<i>ziran cun</i>	自然村

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⁸⁵ The place of publication is not given, nor is there an ISBN for this publication.

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Links to Hair Changing Ritual Videos and Photographs

Part 1

<http://pcache1.vuze.com/details/YARKMGD7XZX4IIVSFDMXOWRIBO37A63A/Amdo+Tibetan+Hair+Changing+Ritual+Part+1.html>
(73 minutes)

Part 2

<http://pcache1.vuze.com/details/CYR4FWHCGZT5BZDKPUL4WIQML5QYUM3N/Amdo+Hair+Changing+Ritual+Part+2.html>
(97 minutes)

Part 3

<http://pcache1.vuze.com/details/6JWTHOW7AMRI3ML5U7SQRNWKFHZPOVN4/Amdo+Tibetan+Hair+Chaging+Ritual+Part+3.html>
(73 minutes)

Photographs

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/koknor/sets/72157622632382466/>